

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

The League's Business

Model Accrual Budget Law Published

The *Model Accrual Budget Law*, first of a series by the League's Committee on a Program of Model Fiscal Legislation for Local Governments, has been published. It has been distributed to sustaining and contributing members and is available to others at 50 cents.

The model law, which is designed for adaptation by state legislatures and home rule cities and counties, is the product of more than 200 public finance experts who are members or consultants of the committee. Arnold Frye, New York attorney and specialist in the law of municipal corporations, is chairman of the committee.

The law's provisions seek to prevent fictitious estimates of expected revenue, promote intelligent control of expenditures, and maintain the financial stability of cities and counties.

Also in preparation by the committee are a *Model Cash Basis Budget Law*, a *Model Bond Law* and a *Model Real Property Tax Collection Law*.

Model State Constitution Revised

The *Model State Constitution* has been revised and republished by the League's Committee on State Government, W. Brooke Graves, chairman. Minimum voting age was reduced from twenty-one to eighteen and the provisions for the framing of home rule charters for municipalities and counties were shortened and simplified. These are the only changes made by the committee in the 1941 edition. Price 50 cents.

A Model State Civil Service Law

The League, in cooperation with the National Civil Service League and the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, has published a revised and shortened *Model State Civil Service Law*. Many of the detailed provisions of the 1939 edition have been omitted on the premise that civil service rules should embody such details. Price 50 cents.

New Study of County Government

The American County—Patchwork of Boards has been published by the League. The pamphlet consists of three articles by Edward W. Weidner, University of Minnesota, which appeared in the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, plus a selected bibliography on county government. Price 35 cents.

League Book to Be Used in Japan

The League has granted a request by General MacArthur's Headquarters in Japan for the right to translate into Japanese the book, *Rent Control in War and Peace*, by Edith Berger Drellich and Andree Emery, published by the League in 1939 in cooperation with the Citizens' Housing Council of New York. The book will be used in the reorientation program, according to Major General Daniel Noce, chief of the Civil Affairs Division.

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Trend Toward City Management

IT IS significant that American cities, all of which face skyrocketing costs and rigidly limited financial resources, are turning in increasing numbers to a modern form of government for safety and security.

The city manager plan—more exactly, the council-manager plan—was adopted in 1946 by the voters of more than 80 communities. This is the largest number in any one year. Even during the depression years, when many cities were in financial difficulties, adoptions were at the rate of only about 30 a year.

A most encouraging incident was the adoption of the plan in Madison, capital city of Wisconsin and home of the state university, which for many years has been an honestly and intelligently run community. There was no political machine, no scandal, no villain; just a calm, orderly discussion, prompted by the League of Women Voters, of the fact that administrative responsibility was too diffused among various boards, commissions and independent officers. Such a demonstration of political maturity is encouraging.

The voters of Ypsilanti, Michigan, led by war veterans in the militant Junior Chamber of Commerce, adopted the plan in November after having turned it down the previous March. Jaycees, largely veterans, also led the successful campaign in Aberdeen, South Dakota.

The people of Hartford, Connecti-

cut, voted for it by more than two to one over the opposition of both party organizations, which tried many of the old political tricks from forcing the question to a special election between Thanksgiving and Christmas—a most unpropitious time, they thought—to unloading a bunch of fancy half-truths and untruths in the last weeks of the campaign. They were stopped in their tracks by the vigilance and vigor of the civic leaders and newspapers.

Fifteen communities in Maine adopted the plan in 1946, the largest number in any one state. New Hampshire, which had had an unused home rule law for some years, had its first adoption.

There have never before been as many civic groups in as many communities working toward council-manager government.

Even Boston, where they say their politicians aren't so crooked as they are Curley, may get a chance to vote on the manager plan if a bill recently introduced in the state legislature isn't scuttled by the politicians as it was last year. In Hoboken, where for years the politician has been named McFeeley (that is, all the occupants of important jobs seemed to bear that name), a movement is under way. Augusta, Georgia, where the decent majority awoke last year to discover it had needlessly been enduring a minority dictatorship for a quarter of a century, is fighting for a modern charter. The Good Government League in Athens, Ten-

nessee, of G.I. revolution fame, is seeking ways to obtain the manager plan for both the city and county.

Now of course not many of the places which have adopted the manager plan recently or are currently considering it have been victimized by the kind of spoils machines which have plagued Hoboken, Augusta and Athens. The tyranny of the bosses is still very much with us, as was recently disclosed at the National Conference on Government; but, more and more, the people are having to vote *for* an improved system of managing public affairs rather than *against* crooked politicians. Bad as many situations still are, we are simply running short on that kind of public figure.

This presumably would make the job harder for advocates of good government, for it is widely assumed that the average apathetic voter is not naturally inclined to vote for constructive change unless he can at the same time make his vote express his resentment against existing bad

conditions. But many of the places which adopted the manager plan in 1946 or are considering it now find little to resent in the way things are being run. They are forced to do some pretty high-powered thinking on fundamentals, under such conditions, to realize the need for a better system of public management.

Admittedly many people vote for the manager plan without being able to explain why it is better than the old systems which it is rapidly replacing. But they do know that it is more likely in almost any situation to provide a good basis for sound government than any other, for the record proves it. They hear more and more about the good record of neighboring communities.

Therefore, the rapid rate of change is pretty sure to continue until the prediction of the experts that the council-manager plan will become standard for American communities during the next half century is fulfilled.

Works Both Ways

Municipal workers seeking salary readjustments that allow for the stratospheric cost of living not infrequently encounter from the town fathers the objection that such increases may increase unduly the local tax rate. . . .

But consider Cambridge, where a history of steady tax reduction is paralleled by a steady record of salary increases, with \$410 raises for police and firemen the latest to come through. Is Cambridge out of this world? Does the bridge which may or may not bear the name of Harvard lead to the Rock Candy Mountains, where life is always pleasant and things work in your favor both ways?

Hardly. Things were not always thus in Cambridge. The success of its Plan E government [manager plan with a council elected by proportional representation] is due to nothing more magical than honesty, efficiency and competence. But the curiosest part, as Alice would say, of this wonderland where you get both lower taxes and higher municipal salaries is that among the prime beneficiaries are those who originally regarded Plan E with the most skeptical eye, the city employees. Editorial, *Boston Traveler*.

Big Government Not Inevitable

TVA administration cited by Lilienthal as example of national policy carried out by state and local agencies.

By DAVID E. LILIENTHAL*

IF THERE is one proposition that I had supposed thoroughly well established and accepted it is this: that our democratic form of government depends for its vitality, its responsiveness to public need, on the development and strengthening and nourishing of local institutions of government.

To this proposition there is universal assent. But such approval is in part only lip service, for what has happened in practice? The policy of encouraging and nourishing the responsibilities of local government has given way to an increasing centralization of administration in the national capital. So far has this gone—by action as well as by default—that we now find a quite disturbing situation. Experts in administration and management have set out to persuade the American people that centralized “Big Government” is inevitable.

I deny that Big Government is inevitable, that we have no workable alternative. These prophets of a managerial revolution and those among public administrators who

seek to persuade the American people that Big Government is inevitable are not measuring up to their high responsibility to the democratic faith. And, what is more serious, they are making more difficult the achievements and the works that make that faith the best hope of mankind.

We have two alternatives to Big Government which we should pursue. Experience in the Tennessee Valley is one kind of evidence—there are others, of course—to support the thesis that in respect to overcentralization there is no wave of the future before which we are powerless.

How is Big Government being sold to the American people? The story begins with full agreement that “of course” everyone desires strong, dynamic local government. The Big Government apologists never question that. Indeed, how could they? We are told that these are “fine ideals”—the ideal of home rule, of a flourishing community and state government. But following close upon this disarming prelude we are told that the complexities of modern living make this older ideal merely nostalgic. Our technical society, so they say, has made it obsolete and unworkable. The airplane, the telegraph, the telephone, swift transportation make it necessary, though regrettable, that the older ideal must give way to the facts of modern life.

Those who are trying to persuade us that Big Government is inevitable

*Mr. Lilienthal prepared this article—his address before the National Conference on Government of the National Municipal League at Philadelphia, November 12—just previous to his appointment by President Truman as chairman of the U. S. Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. Lilienthal left the Wisconsin Public Service Commission in 1933 to become director of the Tennessee Valley Authority and was appointed chairman in 1941.

rarely if ever defend centralization. Their tack is to deplore centralization just as much as the rest of us. They usually admit that remote administration from Washington is not desirable. They will even agree that the withdrawal of more and more decisions out of local communities and the state into bureaus in Washington is unfortunate and corrodes our democratic institutions. But they say we must bow our heads before the inevitable trend.

Big Government is *not* inevitable. Many of our problems *are* national. Problems that once could be dealt with as a matter of local or state policy now require a national policy. But because Congress must and should determine upon a national policy in a particular field, it does not always follow that the administration of that policy must also be centralized. This distinction between a centralized or national policy and its decentralized or localized administration is one of fundamental importance which the apologists of Big Government persistently overlook. It is a distinction which unless observed and respected by corrective action can lead to the progressive atrophy of most local and state governmental functions.

The distinction between authority and its administration is a vital one. For a long time all of us—administrators, citizens and politicians—have been none too clear on this point. We have assumed that, as new powers were granted to the government in Washington, these powers must also be administered from Washington. We have taken it for granted that the price of federal

action was a top-heavy, cumbersome administration. Clearly this is not true. The problem is to divorce the two ideas of authority and administration of authority.

The TVA Pattern

It is at this point that many of us as public administrators are falling short of our high profession of democratic faith. Effective techniques of decentralization—not better ways to centralize—should claim our first attention. The first question we should ask ourselves is: "Why cannot these federal activities be decentralized; if not in whole, why not in part?" The problem of first concern we must ever keep in mind is: does this or that federal program really have to be centralized and to what extent?

The TVA is a concrete demonstration that ways and means can be devised to decentralize the administration of many of the functions of the central government. Indeed, one of the public's chief interests in TVA these days is in its practical, living proof that despite the interrelation of our vast country, despite the need for national policy on many matters heretofore local, the administration of those national policies can be placed in the hands of local community and state agencies. TVA's methods of decentralized administration may well prove to be one of the most important, if not indeed the most important, product of that experiment.

TVA, a public development corporation, is an agency of the central government. Its responsibility as defined by Congress is to develop or aid the people of the Valley to de-

velop and to utilize their natural resources in a region of substantial size, embracing parts of seven states of the southeast. These functions are in general familiar and long-time responsibilities of the federal government—navigation, flood control, electric power, the problems of soils and forests, and research.

TVA is decentralized in more than one sense. First, it is a federal corporation directed not from Washington but from the Tennessee Valley. It is not incorporated within any Washington bureau or department.

Local Personnel Used

But there are other steps of even greater importance. The TVA has by persistent effort decentralized its functions so that most of them are carried out not by federal employees but by local and state personnel. This is effected by scores of contracts setting up joint partnerships between TVA and cities, towns, counties, state boards of health, state conservation commissions, city power boards, farmers' cooperatives, county extension services, state agricultural colleges, state geology departments—the list could be continued almost indefinitely. The widespread approval of the TVA among the people of the Tennessee Valley region is attributed by the people themselves largely to this method of decentralization.

During a period of American history when centralization of administration in Washington has increased at a rapid rate, the fact is, I believe, beyond challenge that in the Tennessee Valley state and local functions of government have grown in diversity and strength more rapidly

than in any other region of the United States during the same period.

Here are a few illustrations of TVA practice. In agricultural development and control of water on the land the TVA has a responsibility in respect to the development of land as one of its basic natural resources. Part of that responsibility arises out of the use Congress required TVA to make of the great laboratory and production plants at Muscle Shoals. TVA was directed to turn these plants, built during World War I for munitions purposes (and incidentally they again rendered service as munitions plants during World War II) to the benefit of agricultural development in the valley and elsewhere.

It was essential that there be made extensive practical tests and demonstrations of the value of new phosphate fertilizers we were developing in those laboratories. To carry out this responsibility TVA did not set up a large central staff. It did not send federal employees into the communities and onto the farms of the Tennessee Valley. TVA entered into a joint program with the state colleges of agriculture, the state extension services, the county agent system—existing agencies. Under this arrangement these agencies undertook to carry forward the actual demonstration and testing program, together with the agricultural education aspects involved.

In this federal activity of TVA the experts who deal with the farmers are members of the staffs of the state colleges of agriculture and of the state and county extension sys-

tems. They are selected by those agencies, which are reimbursed by the TVA for their salaries and expenses.

Another illustration is afforded by TVA's power system. TVA has a system of more than twenty dams on the Tennessee River which carry out familiar federal responsibilities—development of navigation and flood control on an interstate river. These are multiple purpose dams. They provide a navigable channel now being put to extensive use by the barges of commerce and also a measure of flood control unprecedented in this country. The same structures through their control of water generate huge amounts of electricity.

Congress directed that this electricity be sold. It is customary in private utilities that electricity be generated, transmitted and distributed to the homes and farms and factories by a single company. But in the Tennessee Valley the disposition of electricity is divided up. The TVA operates the generating plants and 6,000 miles and more of transmission lines that carry the electricity over an area as large as Great Britain. But its distribution is decentralized. One hundred forty locally owned, locally managed, locally financed distribution agencies carry the electricity from the city gates where TVA delivers it in bulk to the ultimate consumers. An agreement between TVA and these 140 cities, towns, rural cooperatives, fixes broad general policies of accounting, of general financial policy, of tax payments, and determines the level of rates subject to mutual adjustment. But the administration of

electricity supply has been effectively decentralized.

Here is another illustration. Part of TVA's task is to aid in the development of private industry through research and exploration of the natural resources of the region so that they can serve in raising the level of income and economic activity of its citizens. This, too, as everyone knows, is not a novel function of the federal government. The Departments of Commerce and Agriculture, the bureaus of the Department of the Interior and others have had comparable objectives and responsibilities for a long time.

These activities are as fully as possible carried out by a combination of TVA sponsorship with actual execution in whole or part by state agencies. As a matter of legal authority all such activities could have been carried out by the TVA directly.

Recreation Possibilities

A further illustration: When TVA began to harness the river by building a series of dams, many communities along the river were directly affected in many ways. The flooding of lands wrote new boundaries in place of the old trade areas; in many instances bridges, schools and churches had to be relocated or reappraised in their usefulness to the families which remained in the unflooded areas. Nearby TVA construction camps brought large numbers of people into counties whose health and school services were inadequate for the heavier load.

TVA urged the communities to see these problems as an opportunity to replan their facilities as a whole

in the light of a new physical setting. But TVA did not want to make plans for a community. It brought communities together with their state planning boards—and where they didn't exist it suggested to the state that a planning board be set up. TVA provided modest financial assistance through contracts with the state boards and encouraged the communities in turn to establish local planning boards to work with their newly created state agency.

Legislative Support

One measure of the effectiveness of these contractual relations is the financial support given these agencies by their state legislatures. In 1935 there were no state appropriations for this purpose either in Tennessee or in Alabama. In 1946 the state planning agency appropriations in these two states amounted to about \$200,000. And in these two states alone there was an increase in the number of local planning commissions from two in 1935 to 35 in 1946.

These relationships with state planning commissions have yielded other results. In several of the states where the development of industrial resources is a function of the state planning bodies, cooperative studies with TVA have uncovered new industrial opportunities based upon the local resources of the region.

In a similar way several valley states are now showing leadership in recreation development from which a whole new industry is emerging. The Tennessee River is now a chain of beautiful lakes abundant with fish. As dams were built many

towns and counties suddenly saw an unprecedented opportunity for waterfront, park and water recreation development. To assure the public—the taxpaying owners of these beautiful lakes—the fullest opportunity to enjoy them, the TVA worked with the state departments of conservation (and in some cases helped the state establish such departments) to assist the communities in exploiting recreation possibilities.

In pursuing these decentralizing methods, the TVA has encountered plenty of resistance. There are those who would direct one or another phase of TVA's job from some centralized specialized bureau—in the interest, we are repeatedly told, of uniformity. As though uniformity were an end in itself, regardless of the diversity which is one of the great sources of our national strength. But note, too, that the centralizer's control rests on a double assumption: not only that uniformity is desirable as an end in itself but also that similar practices can be obtained only by direct centralized supervisory control. Neither assumption is self-evident.

Overcentralization is to many attractively tempting. It has a special appeal to the administrator who quite conscientiously sees the complexity of his job in a coast-to-coast responsibility. The over-simplifications, the uniform rules and regulations, which centralization encourages, are convenient for him, however inconvenient they may be for the public.

Again, there are those managers who honestly doubt whether they

can discharge their own vast responsibilities for nation-wide programs if they should rely upon units of governments over which they do not have authority to hire and fire.

But it seems to me that as against the folly of centralized administration the risks involved in delegations and agreements with state and local agencies are clearly preferable. Indeed, these risks are implicit in our democratic faith.

Nor should we overlook the deeper question of how we can help our state and local governments gain in competence and in capacity. Surely we should not encourage state and local governments to escape from their duties or abdicate their responsibilities to Big Government, for this process merely perpetuates local weaknesses.

If we turn administration of localized problems over to Washington on the ground that thus we escape the inefficiencies and political shenanigans of state and local communities we are fooling no one but ourselves. Clearly, the fundamental solution is to crowd more, not less, responsibility into the community. Only as the consequences of administrative errors become more localized can we expect citizens to know which rabbit to shoot.

Most people are concerned about the way in which cities and states have lost functions to the federal government. Fiery speeches about states' rights and local home rule are easy to make; finding workable alternatives is harder and less showy. What is needed is not emotional outbursts but rather a clearer recognition of the dangers of overcentrali-

zation and persistent ingenious efforts to find ways and means of administering national policies through local and state agencies.

Hazard to Democracy

Overcentralized administration is not something simply to be made more palatable, more efficient and better managed. It is a hazard to democracy. It is a hazard to freedom. And for those interested more in results than in method overcentralization is a bungling way to do a job.

Many of us, as administrators, recognize this simple truth. But we are so prone to accept Big Government, to improve and refine it at the center to the sad neglect of the periphery where the people live and work, that the federal administrator who tries to reverse the trend is hailed as the exception to the rule. I cite one newsworthy illustration—would that there were many more.

Speaking in the northwest recently, Secretary of the Interior J. A. Krug urged with forceful words the creation of a regional agency, decentralized and autonomous, to aid in the unified development of the Columbia River Valley. In explaining the decentralizing consequences of this proposal Secretary Krug said: "Final decisions would be made here [in the northwest] instead of in my department in Washington. Contrary to the charges frequently made of federal officials, I desire this. I would like to give up some of my power and authority exercised at Washington and see it exercised here." In such a spirit of self-imposed restraint as this lies true democratic statesmanship, and the

road to a workable alternative to Big Government.

The cumulative effect of over-centralization of administration in a national capital is greatly to reduce the effectiveness of government. We are threatened, however, with an even more disastrous sequence, the loss of the people's confidence, the very foundation of democratic government.

When confidence of the community gives place to uneasiness, fears develop that the granting of further powers may be abused. Ridicule of the capriciousness of some government officials takes the place of pride. Democracy cannot thrive long in an atmosphere of scorn or fear. One of two things ultimately happens: either distrustful citizens, their fears often capitalized upon by selfish men, refuse to yield to the national government the powers which it should have in the common interest, or an arrogant central government imposes its will by force. In either case the substance of democracy has perished.

We face a dilemma; there is no reason to conceal its proportions. I do not minimize the complexities and difficulties it presents. We need a strong central government. But every important administrative decision need not be made in Washington. We must rid ourselves of the notion that a new staff, with every member paid out of the federal treasury, has to administer every detail of each new federal law or regulation.

We who believe devoutly in the democratic process should be the first to urge the use of methods that will

keep the administration of national functions from becoming so concentrated at the national capital, so distant from the everyday life of ordinary people as to wither and deaden the average citizen's sense of participation and partnership in government affairs. For in this citizen participation lies the vitality of a democracy.

Keep Local Responsibility

Big Government is not inevitable. True, the growth of our vast central administrative machines needs no encouragement from anybody. Big Government does get bigger and more highly centralized unless there is a conscious, continuous, creative administrative effort to reverse the trend. The community's impulse to hand its local problems over piecemeal to one remote agency after another feeds this hazardous push toward Big Government. The surrender of local responsibility for a part of the community's function generates further local weaknesses which furnish the reason for yet another surrender. Local communities and state governments can help by resisting these temptations to take the easy way out. They can help the administrators of federal programs to work out the methods of decentralization case by case. Local governments can resist surrender constructively by raising questions wherever the community or the state is able to do an executive job which the advocates of Big Government want to do themselves.

It will take a lot of such questions and a far greater awareness of the heavy price which centralization

(Continued on page 88)

The World Demands Proof

Democracy must not be lost in the community and state if we are to succeed in preserving it in the nation and world.

By SPENCER MILLER, JR.*

HOW in the days ahead can we make state and local governments more effective and responsible—more competent for their tasks? Local government and world government may seem poles apart, but the success of the one is vital to the success of the other. If we are to achieve responsible world government, if we in America are to discharge in full measure our obligations in this great task, it will be because we have proved that we are capable of local self-government.

The most spectacular immediate result of the recognition of the moral and practical inadequacy of state and local governments about the turn of the century was an increase in federal activity. Both the "new nationalism" of Theodore Roosevelt and the "new freedom" of Woodrow Wilson called for action by the federal government to correct the failure of government to meet the requirements of the age. Theodore Roosevelt inveighed against the "twilight zone" or legal vacuum between the power of the state governments and the power of the federal

government to deal with important economic problems.

Today there is little "twilight zone" left. For a generation the federal government has extended vastly the outreach of its services and its functions and has appropriated, if not preempted, all new sources of tax revenues. In the same period new services have been superimposed upon the states though severe restriction of the tax bases has greatly limited the proper development of these services.

Congressional power has been extended further during the past three decades by grants-in-aid to the states. There can be no doubt that grants-in-aid speeded up social reforms throughout the country and provided a measure of equalization of economic opportunity for all sections of America. On the other hand, there can be little doubt that the net result has been to extend federal control over local government by means of these subsidies and to weaken the initiative and responsibility of local government by further impairing the taxing powers of the state. Federal taxes on gasoline and alcoholic beverages provide two notable examples of this.

This extension of federal power and influence has been an inevitable concomitant of the increasingly national and international scope of economic and social forces. It certainly has not been without merit.

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But there are limits to beneficent centralization.

If we Americans had been as assiduous as we should have been in finding ways to make the governments at the grass roots responsible and effective, we should not have had to rely so completely on the federal government for dealing with the depression and with many of the problems of war and its aftermath. The federal government in turn might have been in a somewhat better position to concentrate its energies and attention effectively on the global problems of war and peace.

Weakness at Grass Roots

In turning so readily to Washington we display a weakness in the American system which goes back to the days immediately following the Revolution. The writing of the constitution of the United States in 1787 was itself an answer, in terms of a greater central power, to the failure of the states either singly or by cooperation to deal adequately with the problems of the day.

One of the outstanding weaknesses of the first state governments was in the executive. Executive power, such as it was, was generally divided among a number of officers all of whom were dependent upon the legislature. There was neither personal nor corporate unity in the executive and little capacity for leadership or efficiency either in the formulation or in the execution of public policy. Recognizing, as Hamilton said, that energy in the executive is one of the principal ingredients of good government, the makers of the constitution of the United States departed from the state

models and established the first independent American government with an adequate executive power. It was this difference between the federal and state constitutions which DeToqueville later noted as one of the principal reasons for the generally superior character of federal government and administration.

This superiority was evident to thoughtful citizens almost from the beginning. It led to a certain amount of imitation of the federal constitution by subsequent state constitutional conventions. But the imitation invariably stopped short of a frame of government adequate to the real needs of the state. Partly because of the protecting and pervasive influence of federal power, the states have not been under the kind of pressure to recondition their own governments that led to the framing of the federal constitution. More often than not amendment or revision of state constitutions has been the result of an impulse to put some new limitations or shackles on a government already too feeble to be truly responsible for its action or its inaction.

So, while the legal and actual powers of the central government have been increasing, both by liberal judicial interpretation and by constitutional amendment, the powers of state governments have been restricted by the imposition of new limitations in both federal and state constitutions. The typical American response to an unsatisfactory exhibition of governing by state, county or city has been *not* to discover the fundamental cause of misgovernment but rather to forbid the act of mis-

government by the simple device of *forbidding government*.

State constitutions have become veritable catalogues of "thou shalt nots." Restrictions on the borrowing power, the use of the state's credit, and the raising and spending of state and local revenues, have seriously limited the capacity of state and local governments to meet their own problems without federal aid.

Strait-jacket Laws

Provisions designed to prevent abuse of executive power, moreover, have so crippled it in many states that the people are forced to look to Washington for enforcement of laws and protection of rights which are the primary responsibility of the states.

Detailed constitutional provisions governing state departments and county and municipal governments have increased government costs and prevented the adaptation of state and local administration to changing needs.

So more and more, as Professor Henry Jones Ford of Princeton University pointed out in 1908, when the people have felt "the need of government" they have turned from the states to the national government in Washington. Reviewing the development of constitutional limitations on state government, Professor Ford summarized the situation thus:

"The American state is unique in that the people not knowing how to control the government have reduced it to a condition of bare existence. America has created a form of polity the world has never seen before in producing the manacled state—the

state that puts a strait-jacket and handcuffs upon government. And this at a time when there is an imperative social demand for extending the sphere of government and increasing its activities!"

In this condition Professor Ford found one of the underlying reasons for "the tendencies towards aggrandizement of federal power now manifested in national legislation and in the decisions of the courts," an example of "the operation of the historical principle that sovereignty unprovided for in extant forms of government always seeks to embody itself in new forms."

Thus American political history had verified the warning Jefferson had uttered about a hundred years earlier, that it was important to revise state constitutions in order to strengthen state governments lest weak ones lose in competition for power with the federal government.

Belief in the importance of local self-government represents a profound and permanent truth which we have ignored to our peril. Even though we take this belief for granted, let us look at the reasons behind it. One has already been suggested. It is the lesson taught by all big administrative organizations that there are weaknesses and dangers in bigness.

There is another important reason for strengthening our state and local governments. These governments are recruiting and training agencies for a large proportion of the men and women who will ultimately be chosen to guide the destinies of the nation. Unfortunately, feeble government does not attract the best talent. We

are rightly concerned at the distaste, the contempt even, that many Americans feel for political or public service as a career. I do not mean to disparage the many fine, not to say superior, men and women who have, despite these handicaps, made public service their profession.

All things considered, we have more of these people both in politics and in public administration than we realize, but if we would do the things we know we ought to do, politics and public service would be generally recognized as an honor and a privilege. In view of the importance of the role that American government must play in the world, we cannot longer be satisfied with any but the best talents in the higher reaches of our public service. We will never get that talent in the measure in which it is needed until we make the opportunity for real achievement in local and state government considerably greater than it is today.

No Cracker Barrel Democracy

I have left to the last the chief reason usually offered for preserving local self-government. That is the supposition that the closer the government is in geographical and physical fact to the people the better will they understand it and the more readily will they be able to control it. The trouble with this supposition is that under present conditions it is often just not so. The national news services, national radio hook-ups and other media of communication, enable the average citizen to feel that he knows more about candidates for president and about great

national issues than he does about state, city and ward affairs.

In the old days, when it was possible for the voter to know personally most of his local functionaries, when he met them or their close associates in his ordinary daily or weekly round, he could know and control the conduct of local government in a manner much more direct than his remote control over Washington. Unfortunately, we have allowed the neighborhood or community basis of this grass roots democracy largely to disintegrate while the national market for words and ideas has almost superseded the local markets for exchange of strictly local intelligence and ideas.

Yet, I think it is true there is no substitute for face-to-face dealings in private or in public business. If it is no longer true that people can understand their local governments better than their national government it ought to be. But it will not be true again unless we make a much more conscious effort than we do now to maintain means of communication on local problems. We need everywhere nonpartisan local citizens' organizations. We need in every neighborhood a regular meeting place to which citizens may come for information and exchange of views on problems and questions of all kinds. We probably need to spend time and money to reestablish valid media for communication via the printed word and the radio concerning local problems. And we need to reinvigorate the teaching of "community civics" to young and old.

Grass roots democracy is not an

inevitable outcome of "progress" or of social change. It must be sought and worked for. What are the prospects? In spite of everything that has been said, there are many indications that the prospects may be better than they appeared to be 50 years ago.

We have entered what might be termed a new epoch of state and local government in this country. It is an epoch marked by a growing recognition of the great truth that government, like all other major institutions, exists to get things done. Consequently there has been less stress on constitutional limitations and more on rewriting state constitutions and municipal charters and reorganizing state and municipal administrations so as to permit these governments to do their share of the public business.

To be sure, the prescription for modern state government which appears in the *Model State Constitution* has not been taken whole by any one state. We have in Nebraska, however, one hopeful demonstration of the superiority of the unicameral legislature. We have an increasing number of legislative councils working to improve the quality of state legislation. We have made in many states varying degrees of progress toward integration of administration under a responsible chief executive.

We still have left largely unsolved the problems of finding satisfactory leadership in our legislatures and of achieving satisfactory working relations between the executive and legislative branches. Significantly, these are the two principal deficiencies in the organization of our fed-

eral government. It is to be hoped that the reorganization of Congress upon which a beginning has been made may be carried out to an ultimate solution of these problems at the federal level and that simultaneously more and more states will tackle these same problems.

More progress toward responsible government has been made at the local level. All but seventeen cities have abandoned the old bicameral city council. The charters of a majority of the major cities give at least some recognition to the need for concentration of responsibility.

If we really believe that self-government must begin at home we must learn to trust our state and local governments more than we have in the past. A failure to trust them indicates a fatal distrust of our own capacity for self-government. We now know that in the long run such distrust does not result in greater freedom from government, it simply means that government will be exercised from a more remote place, subject to more indirect controls and less susceptible to the bridle of a genuine public opinion.

Some Remedies

So let us reexamine some of the constitutional limitations on state and local power. Let the states give genuine home rule, fiscal as well as legal, to soundly established county and municipal governments. This does not mean that every existing county or municipality, however inadequate it may be in area, population or resources, must necessarily be given home rule powers. In great metropolitan areas, for example, we must face the fact that there can be

no such thing as self-government, or genuine home rule, in a central city which is deprived of the fiscal and intellectual resources of the more fortunate beneficiaries of its industry who happen to live in suburbs legally and politically isolated from the city. "One world" will become an empty dream if those of us who live in any of the more than 140 metropolitan areas in the United States are not ready to recognize their allegiance and responsibility to the "one city."

While we free our state governments of constitutional restrictions which help to drive people to Washington when they want to get things done, we must undertake the more fundamental job of reorganizing our state governments so that they have not only the power but also, as Professor Ford said, "the responsibility and efficiency essential to democratic government." This means that where the state legislature is dangerously unrepresentative that condition should be corrected. It indicates in practically every state the need for further progress toward a more responsible executive branch. It also means in many states a pretty substantial reorganization of the judicial branch.

Cooperation Essential

I have said a good deal about the necessity for making our state and local governments more efficient in order to fit them to assume a larger share of the burden of government. This does not mean that we can divide functions of government into three distinct categories, assign one set to Washington, another to the state capitol and another to city hall.

More and more it is being recognized that many functions once thought of as strictly local have statewide, national or even international implications.

Consequently our state and local governments must become better co-operators, cooperators among themselves and with the federal government. Much progress is being made in this direction, thanks to the work of the Council of State Governments and to the examples of successful intergovernmental operations of such organizations as the Port of New York Authority, Incodel¹ and others.

One other trend which points toward increasing effectiveness for state and local governments is the growing acceptance of planning. A government cannot do an intelligent job if it does not plan intelligently in advance for it. As the late Senator Dwight W. Morrow said on the subject of community planning, "I don't like to say that a plan does not cost anything, because anything that is worthwhile on this earth cost something. But I do think it is quite demonstrable that the real cost of building up a community is the cost of non-planning."

A major reason why the federal government is called upon to play so large a role in such matters as housing, urban development, modern highway construction is the fact that we have allowed our large cities and metropolitan areas to develop, or rather to disintegrate, without local plan or direction to an extent that

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¹Interstate Commission on the Delaware River Basin.

Too Small to Be Efficient?

Experience of Petroleum County, Montana, cited as proof council-manager plan will cut costs, improve operations.

By R. R. RENNE*

COUNTY government has been called the "dark continent of American politics" primarily because (1) county governments are so loosely organized and supervised as to encourage corruptness in many instances and inefficiency and unnecessary waste in others, and (2) many citizens take so little interest in local government that they know less about what goes on in their local courthouse than they know about what takes place in their state or national capitol. Which head of the elusive, many-headed monster to attack first, or which weapons to use, continues to trouble students of local government.

American counties are predominantly rural. Of the nearly 3,100 counties in the United States, only an eighth have populations in which 50 per cent or more of the people live in urban areas. In more than a third of the counties there is no urban population whatsoever.¹

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¹The 1940 census lists 3,071 counties, of which only 418 have urban popula-

Hence, reforms that will improve administrative efficiency of rural counties are of major importance in our economy.

The manager plan of administration has been one of the most highly recommended reforms in county government. The belief has persisted among students of local government, however, that for various reasons the manager plan offers little real hope in rural counties. First, they say, rural counties are too small to present a sufficiently interesting challenge to attract efficient, able managers, and too small to pay the salary required to secure competent managers. Moreover, they say, the people of rural counties will insist upon the right to elect most of the officials who are to serve them in the county courthouse, and will not give up this prerogative just to save a few dollars in taxes through the more efficient administrative organization and operation characteristic of the manager plan.

With only a handful of counties that have thus far adopted the manager plan and with all the early adopters being urban counties or counties containing large cities, there has been little evidence to disprove the widely held contention that the manager plan does not fit the needs of rural counties. Before assuming that other methods of improvement

tions equal to 50 per cent or more of the total, and 1,050 counties have no urban population.

and increased efficiency of operation must be worked out for rural counties, however, let us analyze carefully how the manager plan might work out for a rural county and then see if there are not some examples of successful use of the manager plan in a small rural county.

In most states constitutions and statutes require the election of a specific list of officers to administer county government. The number of different officials usually ranges from eight to twelve. For example, in Montana counties elect an assessor, court clerk, attorney, three commissioners, clerk and recorder, sheriff, treasurer, superintendent of schools, surveyor, coroner and public administrator, and in addition an auditor is elected in the larger counties. There is no executive coordinating head and extreme departmentalization results. In rural counties, where the total volume of work to be done is relatively small and quite seasonal, this departmentalization is especially expensive. In urban counties, where the volume of work is larger and steadier, the extreme departmentalization does not result relatively in as much waste and inefficiency.

It would seem, therefore, that the typical plan of county administration, with many independent, uncoordinated elected officials, is less well adapted to rural than to urban counties. On this score, rural counties should be a particularly fertile field for administrative improvement through adoption of the manager plan.

The fact that the numerous officials must be elected every two years in many states or every four years

in others makes a long ballot that is not only cumbersome and confusing but also expensive. In some states elections every two years approximate a tenth of total county administrative costs. Rural counties with small population, lack of concentrated industrial wealth and low taxable valuation can ill afford this expense. Again, the arguments that the manager plan accomplishes particularly good results appear to be as applicable to rural as to urban counties.

Petroleum County Example

What evidence is there in actual practice that the manager plan has worked out successfully in a strictly rural county? The experience in Petroleum County, Montana, in this connection should be of interest. The manager plan went into effect there on January 1, 1943. Thus, four years of operation are available on which to appraise the effectiveness of this form of administration.

Petroleum County was the last of Montana's 56 counties to be created. Organized in 1924, it is the smallest county in the state in terms of taxable valuation or population. Its taxable valuation is less than \$1,000,000, or only half that of Montana's next smallest county. Only slightly over 1,000 people live in the county, and there is only one incorporated town, Winnett, the county seat, which has a population of 400. In terms of area, the county has 1,664 square miles, is larger than thirteen other Montana counties, and nearly three times the size of the median United States county (618 square miles). Consequently, the

population is very sparse with only .7 persons per square mile.

It is not necessary to give a detailed background of the events that led up to adoption of the manager plan, by a two-to-one vote, by the citizens of Petroleum County in 1942.² Suffice it to say that a diminishing flow of oil from the Cat Creek field and declines in crop and livestock returns accompanying drought and depression created a financial and debt situation that was impossible to handle under the usual organization of county administration. For example, Montana counties are not permitted by law to levy more than 16 mills for general administration. This maximum levy raised only \$12,028 in Petroleum County for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, whereas expenditures for administration amounted to \$22,882. Obviously, administrative expenses had to be cut to get within the budget raised by the maximum levy or the county would sink further into debt and eventually oblivion. For several years the deficit had been made up by sales of tax deeded lands and collection of delinquent taxes accompanying improved economic conditions, but obviously this was no permanent cure for a financially impossible situation.

The county commissioners could raise assessed valuations so that the maximum levy would raise more funds, but this was extremely unpopular and in the long run would undoubtedly have defeated its own ends by causing increased tax delin-

quency. It seemed imperative, therefore, to cut administrative costs. Consolidation of certain county offices was tried but was found to be inadequate.³ County office consolidation may result in reducing administrative costs somewhat, but to achieve maximum efficiency and economy only the coordinated effort, centralized responsibility, simplified record-keeping, centralized purchasing, and selection of personnel on a merit basis, possible under the manager plan, will do the job.

Costs Cut a Third

During the next four years the manager plan showed annual administrative costs reduced more than one-third. In terms of costs per thousand dollars of taxable valuation, there has been a reduction from \$27.80 to \$16.45. Thus, the amount of levy required to meet administrative costs has been cut from almost 28 mills to slightly over 16 mills, the statutory maximum. In other words, in less than four years under the manager plan Petroleum County has its administrative house in such order as to be able to live within its income. It is significant that during the same four-year period administrative costs in the other 55 Montana counties, operating under the old system of administration, remained practically constant—in fact, increased slightly.

Under the old form of administration, Petroleum County employed thirteen individuals to operate its

²See the author's "Rural County Can Be Efficient", the REVIEW, October 1944, page 448.

³In 1938 the offices of superintendent of schools and assessor were consolidated and the offices of public administrator and coroner were consolidated with the sheriff's office.

county government, in addition to electing three county commissioners. Of these thirteen employees, nine were regular elected county officers: county clerk and recorder, county treasurer, county assessor, county attorney, county superintendent of schools, clerk of court, sheriff, public administrator and coroner, and the other four were deputies, or clerks, hired to assist with the work of county government. Today, Eldon Freed, county manager, says that the total employed in the county is five: the county manager who also acts as director of finance, the chief deputy, the director of records and clerk of the district court, the sheriff and assessor, and the county attorney. The county attorney is elected under the manager law by the people, and is paid half by the state. Thus, in place of thirteen employees under the customary form of county government, there are now a total of only five, or less than two-fifths as many.

Salary Bill Halved

The total salaries for regular employees amounted to only \$7,960 in 1946, compared with \$14,283, or approximately twice as much, in 1942. The next lowest of Montana's 56 counties spent in 1946 over one-third more than Petroleum County for salaries of the six major elected officials alone—clerk and recorder, treasurer, assessor, superintendent of schools, sheriff and attorney.

Equally as spectacular as the reduction in administrative cost is the record of debt reduction in Petroleum County under the manager plan. On June 30, 1942, before the manager plan went into effect, the

county had \$20,705.99 of warrants and \$40,000 of bonds outstanding. On June 30, 1946, after three and a half years of manager plan operation, the county had only \$131.66 of warrants outstanding, no bonds outstanding, and a net credit balance of cash of nearly \$39,000 or the equivalent of approximately a 40-mill levy. Prior to adoption of the manager plan net indebtedness equaled 59 mills. This shift from a debtor to a creditor status represents a difference of nearly 100 mills to the good, in terms of tax levies, compared with a shift equivalent to only 12 mills for all Montana counties during the same years. Debt-liquidating levies have been reduced in Petroleum County from 17 mills in 1943 to 7 mills in 1946.

These very significant financial achievements are largely the result of the better coordinated plan of administration characteristic of the manager system. Under this system Petroleum County voters now elect only a board of three commissioners and a county attorney, instead of the nine officials already referred to.

The commissioners serve as a board of directors to formulate general policies and plans for the county. This board selects a manager to carry out its policies and to execute administrative details, and the manager is removable at the pleasure of the board, with rights to a public hearing. The manager appoints the employees to operate the county government. The number of employees is now only three-fifths as great as previously, following the office consolidation indicated, and less than half as many as were em-

ployed under the standard plan of county administration.

The experience of Petroleum County offers overwhelming evidence that the manager plan can work effectively in small rural counties. The results accomplished there can be repeated in most, if not all, of the 2,653 rural counties in the nation. The serious financial plight in which Petroleum County found itself necessitated a sweeping reorganization of its administrative machinery in the direction of sound business practices and efficiency. While such a financial situation helps to bring voters to their senses in doing something about improving their county government, it is not necessary for successful operation of the manager plan.

The manager form of government can result in efficient administration and make the tax dollar go much further in counties that are not in serious financial straits as well as in those that are. After all, we should be interested in seeing that as few cents as possible out of every tax dollar are used to pay administrative costs and as many as possible are left to provide essential and needed services for our people in modern society.

THE WORLD DEMANDS PROOF

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local resources and powers are fre-

quently incapable of reversing the trend.

If we want our local communities to avoid having to go to Washington to save them from virtual destruction, we must greatly extend and accelerate the application of planning. And mere city planning is not enough. It must include metropolitan planning, planning at the state level and in many instances regional or interstate planning. It must embrace fiscal programming. Every plan must include the measures for its fiscal achievement. The only possible answer to the failure of such voluntary planning through state and local governments will be planning for an increasing number of regions enforced by federal authority or money.

In the last analysis, the success of any system of freedom must depend upon confidence—confidence in ourselves and confidence in one another. The way to achieve confidence is to act confidently. If we are to continue to act confidently, we must correct the deficiencies in our American system and thus demonstrate both to ourselves and to the world that it works. The final proof of our capacity for responsible world government will be our demonstrated capacity to make state and local government both effective and responsible.

County Pattern for the Future

Manager plan, budgeting, cooperation with communities and state, as well as civic leadership, seen as essential.

By ELWYN A. MAUCK*

AFTER the hiatus of the past years of world conflict, the interests of the people of the United States are turning once more to their normal peace-time institutions. Some of those institutions have been permanently modified as a by-product of the war; others are resuming their prewar characteristics. In the field of local government, most institutions have quickly sloughed off their battle dress. In a remarkably short time they divested themselves of all activities relating to selective service, civilian defense, price control, rationing and other wartime functions.

Another postwar development in local affairs is the resumption of interest and participation in improvement of government structure and procedures by local community groups and civic leaders.

The evidence is unmistakable that sentiment for reform in local government is developing rapidly and extending to all parts of the United States. For the forces of good government it cannot and will not be a losing battle! The institutions of local government must advance in

conjunction with other social developments; there are no alternatives.

It is not to be blithely assumed that the advocates of county reform "know all the answers." They can merely formulate plans, on the basis of all available evidence, which will serve to guide the development of our institutions in order to have them serve our best interests. In the present momentous transitional period through which we are passing, no one can foretell precisely where the transition will lead us.

The shaping of things to come, however, does lie most definitely in the hands of the people in a democratic nation. Our government is exactly what we make it. It will suffer from our neglect or it will flourish as a result of our attention. If we are to retain our democratic institutions we cannot afford to assume the complacent attitude of the woman who, in answer to a question by a Gallup poll-taker, declared, "No, I have never voted in my life. Thank God, I am not responsible for that mess down in Washington."

The fate and future of county government are by no means clear. Some persons are prepared to sing a requiem for the county; but others are inclined to believe it will continue to exhibit an entirely satisfactory degree of life and vitality. To maintain a healthy condition, however, it is obvious that the county must continue to perform desired functions with an acceptable degree

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of efficiency. Otherwise it will atrophy and disappear like the vestigial organs of the human body.

Strong local government requires active participation by civic leaders in the community. An apathetic attitude can be as destructive to good government as outright opposition. If we relax our vigilance democracy will disappear at the grass roots, and our recent military victory over the authoritarian form and theory of government will have been in vain. What the people of the United States have won for themselves by force of arms must be preserved by virtue of popular insight and understanding of modern government. Any lesser course is unthinkable.

County Services

County government provides essential services for practically all our people. In rural areas it frequently is the major unit of local government; only in urban areas is it sometimes of lesser importance. Almost everywhere it levies its taxes and, in return, performs specified services for its residents. Many of the important services it renders go unheralded. It records our birth, issues our marriage license, registers our title to real property (including all our mortgages on it), and it takes appropriate notice of our death. It might even investigate should we die under mysterious circumstances. If we want to own a dog or go hunting or fishing, county officials will issue the appropriate license. The county builds and maintains our roads, keeps the peace, cares for the poor, and provides for the administration of justice.

In addition, modern American counties have expanded their functions into many other fields of activity. They now have established health, medical and recreational services; they provide streets, water, lights, fire protection and sewerage systems; they plan and zone; they build houses, auditoriums and airports; and their war programs included participation in activities such as selective service, price control, commodity rationing, civilian defense and aids to service men.

What do the prophets of doom predict for the county? They point to the trend toward centralization as proof that the county is an outmoded unit. They ridicule its weak, disintegrated structure of government. They urge us to destroy the "court house gang." They declare that the needs of modern society require that we by-pass the county for the sake of efficiency.

The true friends of counties, however, also have been in the vanguard of those who have publicized the evils in county government. They recognize that only in eradication of the evils does there lie hope for thriving county government. Hence they have outlined the evils in order to point the way to reform. With reform the county should experience a renewal of strength.

Without reform, the county has been experiencing a gradual drain of power and authority to larger units of government. The trend toward centralization is a reality and to some degree it is inevitable and desirable. We cannot oppose the trend merely because it means that local governments lose their powers to

states, states to the nation, and perhaps the nation to the United Nations. Local self-government, states' rights and national sovereignty are values which must be considered in conjunction with other values which may contain points of conflict. We must look to the values to be gained as well as the values sacrificed by every such trend or transfer of powers.

The trend toward centralization must be evaluated from points of view in addition to that of hypothetical administrative efficiency. The value of democracy is not open to question in this discussion. Assuming its virtue, there is little doubt that the most effective training ground for democracy lies in the field of local self-government. This is a factor that must be weighed along with factors of efficiency when one analyzes the effects of the transfer of functions to larger units of government.

How Secure Efficiency?

The standards of efficiency and democracy are less likely to be in conflict with each other when the problem involves local government consolidation. Much has been written about consolidation of counties, city-county consolidation, and functional consolidation. Developments on occasion appear to be filled with promise, but satisfactory results have been meager. Several sparsely populated counties in western states have voted in favor of dissolution of their county governments and amalgamation of their areas with adjoining counties. No city-county consolidation has been effected for decades, although in numerous com-

munities it is a topic of current discussion. Functional consolidation between municipality and county or between other local units has been adopted in many metropolitan communities, and almost without exception it has been an instantaneous success. In numerous other communities, some form of consolidation is being actively debated, and it is safe to assume that there will be further progress in the not too distant future.

The manager plan continues to be one of the most promising developments in the field of county government. Although less than a dozen of the country's 3,000 counties have a manager as recognized by the International City Managers' Association, many have some modified form of a manager plan which alleviates the worst features of the usual disintegrated type of county government. During recent decades the county manager plan has been the subject of vote and debate in many communities, and the number of manager counties gradually is increasing.

Home rule for counties also has been the subject of more discussion than action, although recent developments indicate that a revival of activity may be in prospect. The two new state constitutions of Missouri and Georgia contain county home rule provisions, and several counties in each state have initiated action to secure home rule charters. Also counties in other home rule states have indicated a revival of interest in securing home rule charters. In some states in which constitutional home rule has not been

achieved, the counties are seeking to secure a degree of autonomy through statutory home rule.

A survey I completed recently for the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League serves to illustrate many of the problems and some of the solutions proposed with specific application to a given county. Wicomico County, Maryland, is located on the eastern shore, and probably can be described as a typical county in its area. It is a rural county devoted to truck gardening, although Salisbury, the county seat, contains several small industries and approximately half the county's population. There were no unusual governmental problems, no crises, nothing to set Wicomico apart from other Maryland counties. Its problems were those of most counties which cling to outmoded forms of government.

"Fourteen Points" for Reform

The recommendations resulting from the survey can be summarized in fourteen points:

1. Adopt the county manager plan, if possible in cooperation with similar action by the city of Salisbury;

2. Adopt a modern budget system, including a long term capital budget, and consider changing the fiscal year;

3. Join with the city and board of education in centralized purchasing;

4. Integrate financial functions, including collection of taxes, in a division of finance;

5. Install modern personnel procedures;

6. Join with the city of Salisbury

in all activities which prove adaptable to cooperative effort;

7. Investigate possibility of securing more favorable formulas for allotment of state welfare and road money;

8. Consider possibility of securing the return from the state of greater jurisdiction over services such as health, welfare, county roads and assessment of property;

9. Establish a planning and zoning board to provide controls for the orderly development of the county;

10. Develop and integrate the recreational services which have been initiated;

11. Investigate further the need for a county police force, with full consideration of existing state aid and city facilities;

12. Take necessary action to have control over the liquor dispensary transferred to the county;

13. Provide desired services for unincorporated communities by the establishment of special districts;

14. Seek codification, simplification and clarification of the statutory and constitutional authority under which the county operates, with a view to permitting more effective home rule in all matters of primarily county concern.

The problems of powers, organization and structure have been discussed to the exclusion of problems of functions because the functions will continue to be entrusted to counties only if they prove themselves appropriately organized and competent to retain or undertake such functions. They are being given an unprecedented opportunity at the present time to play a significant

role in developing governmental services for which there is an acute need. Many counties have appointed veterans service officers, and other counties are currently announcing the appointment of such officers. They will assist in all problems of veteran readjustment to civilian life including vocational counselling, housing, securing of government surpluses, loans for business or continuing the veteran's education, and similar matters. Although new housing at present is primarily an aid to veterans, the problem permeates every aspect of community life and has its impact on everyone in the community.

New Jobs for the County

Counties are being given a renewed opportunity in highway construction and maintenance. Roads have been allowed to deteriorate and new construction has been deferred during the course of the war. Hence an unprecedented demand has accumulated. Federal legislation requires that counties be consulted in the expenditure of federal grant-in-aid funds for highway construction purposes. The extent and effectiveness of such consultation depends ultimately upon the vigor with which counties assert their legal rights.

Airport construction and maintenance constitutes another field in which counties may assume a prominent role. It is obvious that we are now entering the air age. Commercial air transportation is expanding at a remarkable rate, and the large air lines are being supplemented constantly by smaller feeder lines. Unscheduled commercial flying and private business and recreational flying

also are in their early developmental stages. The construction of airport facilities, airport zoning, and other aspects of development and regulation fall appropriately within the sphere of county jurisdiction.

There remains the question of the means to be employed to attain the objective of reform in county government. Organization, public education and the usual electoral processes furnish the answer. On this matter I may allude also to the exceptional means adopted recently by the citizens of a county in Tennessee. A group of ex-soldiers in McMinn County resolved to rid themselves of their local boss-ridden machine. They organized their own political party for county offices, but on election day they were able to secure an honest count only after a six-hour siege and exchange of gunfire with the election and other county officials. The count then showed that the GI party had won an overwhelming victory.

The action of the GI party cannot be either unqualifiedly endorsed or condemned. As a precedent it is undoubtedly dangerous. Illegal violence cannot be condoned under any but exceptional circumstances, and violent revolution must necessarily be suppressed by existing government. Violent means can be equally useful for good and evil ends, and in that lies its danger. The recent establishment of the fascistically-minded Columbians, Inc., in Atlanta, Georgia, amply illustrates this danger.

On the other hand, the vigor and determination of the GI party adherents to secure fairness and honesty in the election must command

the admiration of all persons also interested in honesty in government. For philosophic justification they can find ample support in the writings of Thomas Jefferson. In the case at issue, apparently the majority will could be secured only through violent seizure of the governmental machinery from corrupt officials. The uneasy question must continue to plague many of us, "How many times is the will of the majority defeated only because a minority has a stranglehold on the election process?"

I believe we are safe in assuming that such conditions of extreme corruption are exceptional, although that they exist elsewhere there can be no doubt. In the vast majority of cases orderly processes can and must be followed, and illegal violence must be suppressed by duly constituted authority. As a first step, the forces for good government must organize inside or outside of existing party or civic associations. The organization must be built on a permanent basis, for the battle will never be entirely won. The necessary research must be undertaken, the program adopted, and the battle lines

drawn. Temporary defeat must be regarded merely as an opportunity for re-evaluation and elimination of mistakes. Under such a program eventual victory for good government is inevitable. Only under such a program will we participate adequately in shaping our future and insuring the safety of our democratic institutions.

BIG GOVERNMENT NOT INEVITABLE

(Continued from page 71)

exacts before federal administrators and the management experts will find ways to decentralize. Here, indeed, is a great area of neglected administrative study of fruitful experiment. In this vital field of public management lies great opportunity for administrative ingenuity, a challenge to the joint interest and efforts of the experts in local, state and federal operations. The methods applied in the Tennessee Valley, and the results achieved there by the working partnership of public agencies engaged in a resource-development job, are not inconsiderable proof that Big Government over-centralization need not be inevitable.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . .

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Cities Move to Improve Charters

Commissions Draft New Laws for Voter Action

CITIES far and wide are actively engaged in the revision of their basic laws. Charter commissions are at work in Richmond, Minneapolis, New Haven and many other communities. Numerous municipalities are seriously considering the council-manager plan.¹

The new charter commission of Richmond, Virginia, charged with the task of modernizing the Richmond governmental setup with its bicameral council, began its concentrated activities in December with the arrival of Dr. Thomas H. Reed of Hartford, Connecticut, the commission's technical consultant on charter drafting, and Dr. Rowland A. Egger, director of the Bureau of Public Administration at the University of Virginia, who will be the commission's director of research. Dr. Reed will be assisted by Mrs. Reed, who is also an expert in the field of local government, and Dr. Egger brought with him Dr. A. M. Hillhouse, professor of public finance at the University of Cincinnati, as financial consultant.

The commission's recommended charter must be ready by May 5, 1947, and will be voted on later this year; if approved it must obtain the sanction of the state legislature in 1948.

At the call of Mayor H. H. Humphrey of Minneapolis, Minnesota, representatives of organized labor

have met with business leaders and representatives of other economic, social and civic groups, forming a citizens' committee interested in fiscal and administrative reform in the city's governmental structure. The committee will serve as an advisory group to the city charter commission, and will be expected to explain agreed charter provisions to the general public.

One important proposal under consideration is the establishment of a commissioner of administration, to be appointed by the mayor with approval of the council. This action would centralize in one office the functions of purchasing, accounting, tax collecting and ultimately the preparation of the budget. These are now widely separated among elective and appointive officers and boards, including the city assessor, treasurer, comptroller and the Board of Estimate and Taxation.

Centralization of responsibility in the mayor is also contemplated, with more department heads appointed by him with council approval.

Activity in Connecticut

In Wallingford, Connecticut, a committee has been appointed by officials of both the town and the borough of that name to study charter changes, including consolidation of the town and borough and adoption of a new charter.

The recently appointed charter commission of New Haven, Connecticut, has begun public hearings on proposals for improvements in that city's outmoded basic law, which has been amended some 210 times since 1899 and now provides for at least 29 different and autonomous boards. Voters

¹See also "Council-Manager Plan Developments," page 90 this issue.

are burdened with a long ballot, including mayor, city clerk, treasurer, town clerk, sheriff, registrars of voters, registrar of vital statistics, aldermen, selectmen and grand jurors.

Andrew T. Rolfe, of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, gives the following report on Connecticut cities seeking the aid of that organization in charter revision.

A dinner meeting sponsored by the council served to bring into focus the trend for local government reform now generally rampant in Connecticut, and to emphasize the importance of getting charter legislation properly presented to the state legislature for approval. The meeting was unique in that it grew out of requests to the council from fourteen charter revision committees for more information on how to get a charter revision bill through the legislature and because the discussion started a spontaneous demand for more home rule in Connecticut.

Since that time the Connecticut League of Women Voters has announced that it is now conducting an aggressive campaign to sell the General Assembly on adopting more home rule legislation for the towns in the 1947 session. In addition, Hartford's voters have, by popular referendum, approved a new council-manager charter which contains a provision permitting amendments without recourse to the General Assembly. With this device Hartford stands to win a measure of home rule for itself, provided the General Assembly passes the charter bill unchanged.

More than 80 members of the fourteen town charter revision committees attended the meeting, many of whom brought their representatives to the legislature as guests. Towns represented were: Darien, East Hartford, Fairfield, Farmington, Hamden, Hartford, Manchester, Middletown, Milford,

New Haven, Norwich, Southington, Wallingford and Windsor.

Of these towns Darien, Farmington, Hartford, Manchester, Milford and Windsor have approved the principle of the council-manager type of government. A citizen committee for better Norwich government is actively campaigning for a bill to consolidate the town of Norwich with the city of Norwich. New Haven has just appointed a new charter committee which is reported advocating a strong mayor charter. Fairfield is favoring a representative town meeting government similar to that of Greenwich and the remaining towns are looking for improvement within the structure of their present charters.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Oxnard, California, chose council-manager government at an election on December 12 by a vote of 325 to 273. The total vote was a small proportion of the registration. A companion measure to make the offices of city clerk and treasurer appointive instead of elective failed of adoption.

Mayor Patrick J. Kearns of **San Carlos, California**, has proposed that San Carlos and its neighbor **Belmont** join in the employment of a city manager. Mayor James E. Furlong, Jr., of Belmont has expressed favorable interest, and points out that the two cities now have a city engineer in common and have joint plans for a sewage disposal plant and joint operation of a city dump.

Woodland, California, will vote on the manager plan at the regular municipal election April 8.

A bill to authorize a referendum in **Boston** on adoption of the manager plan with a proportional representation council was introduced in the Massachusetts legislature on January

3 by Representative Henry L. Shattuck of Boston. If approved by popular vote the plan could go into effect by 1950, the end of the term of the present mayor, James M. Curley. The specific plan would include a council of nine members, with two-year terms and annual salaries of not more than \$6,000; it would designate one member as mayor, with a maximum salary of \$7,500, and would appoint a city manager at a maximum of \$25,000. The present mayor receives \$20,000. Among the manager's appointments would be the Licensing Board, now appointed by the governor. Mr. Shattuck expects to introduce a further bill specifying that the Boston police commissioner be appointed by the manager instead of by the governor as at present.

The charter commission which is studying proposals for charter changes in Boston has held several hearings at which Plan E (manager and P.R.) for the city has been advocated and attacked. One member, Judge Daniel J. Gillen, has had a petition introduced in the legislature on his behalf, by Representative M. P. Feeney, for a constitutional amendment to permit adoption of Plan E or other form of charter by referendum in any city on petition of 10 per cent of the voters.

The Veterans Civic Committee in **Dover, N. H.**, is promoting the manager plan. Dover considered adoption of the plan many years ago, but this was previous to adoption of the state enabling act for cities in 1929.

Mayor Minot C. Morgan, Jr., of the borough of **Princeton, New Jersey**, has called a town meeting for February 12 to consider the idea of a borough manager.

The **Fair Lawn, New Jersey**, Council-Manager Fact-Finding Committee held a public meeting in January which was addressed by Walter J. Millard of Cin-

cinnati, City Manager Paul A. Volcker of Teaneck, New Jersey, and Councilman Birmingham of Clifton, New Jersey.

The **Hoboken, New Jersey**, League of Women Voters and the Hoboken Chapter of the Independent Citizens League arranged a mass meeting on the council-manager plan which was also addressed by Mr. Millard.

Petitions have been circulated in **South Norfolk, Virginia**, calling for a referendum on the council-manager plan. The community is adjacent to the larger city of **Norfolk**, a council-manager city since 1918.

The Association of Commerce of **Waukesha, Wisconsin**, has circulated petitions to obtain a referendum on the manager plan and has organized a steering committee that includes representatives of service clubs, labor organizations, the League of Women Voters, the American Legion, merchants and industrialists, as well as the president of the association and of the Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The City Charter Commission of **Fergus Falls, Minnesota**, has suggested various charter amendments including one for the manager plan. The League of Women Voters is interested in the latter proposal.

In **Hastings, Minnesota**, the new charter commission is studying the manager plan, including the questions of size of council, mode of election, primaries, etc.

The **Poplar Bluff, Missouri**, Chamber of Commerce has voted unanimously to support the council-manager plan. It is organizing a "master committee" on which are represented various civic, fraternal and religious groups to explain the plan and petition the city council for an election on its adoption.

The League of Women Voters in **Columbia, Missouri**, is fostering a campaign for the manager plan. The

Daily Tribune is presenting educational material concerning the plan.

Growing out of a temporary committee of World War II veterans, a Citizens' Committee for City Manager has been organized in **Kansas City, Kansas**, has printed petitions, and circulated and mailed out 40,000 letters to voters, enclosing petition cards to be returned postage-free. The petitions were filed January 6 and it is planned to hold a referendum on March 4.

Keen interest in the manager plan has been demonstrated in **Leavenworth, Kansas**, where the *Times* advocates adoption of the plan, which was explained to some 500 citizens at a public meeting by L. P. Cookingham, manager at Kansas City, Missouri, and to the Kiwanis Club by Walter Johnson, manager at nearby Atchison, Kansas.

In **Lawrence, Kansas**, a committee of the Chamber of Commerce has been studying the manager plan.

The **Hill City, Kansas**, *Times* and the **Pittsburg, Kansas**, *Headlight* advocate a change to the council-manager plan in their respective cities.

The Civic Improvement League of **Leadville, Colorado**, sponsored a public meeting in the high school auditorium where the manager plan was explained by Chet Cook, manager at Canon City.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Cozad, Nebraska**, contemplates making a campaign for the manager plan.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Monroe, Louisiana**, is considering the possibility of establishing the manager plan there.

The **San Antonio, Texas**, League of Women Voters is studying council-manager government and is expected to undertake a campaign for its adoption.

A special committee of the Junior Chamber of Commerce of **Yakima,**

Washington, is studying the council-manager plan. The newly-elected mayor expressed willingness, prior to his election, to step aside in favor of a manager, but the state attorney general has ruled that a special election for adoption of the manager plan could not be held before November 1947.

Interest in council-manager government is also being shown in many other cities, including **Bath, Maine**; **Willimantic, Connecticut**; **Woodbridge, New Jersey**; **Raleigh, North Carolina**; **Columbia, South Carolina**; **Morton Grove, Illinois**; **Ashland and Kewau-nee, Wisconsin**; **Duluth, Minnesota**; **Manhattan, Kansas**; **Seminole, Oklahoma**; **Sandpoint, Idaho**; **El Centro and San Luis Obispo, California**; and **Walla Walla, Washington**.

Manager Plan and Unionization

Fear of job insecurity on the part of city employees of Emporia, Kansas, as a possible consequence of recent adoption of the council-manager plan, has been asserted by union organizers as a reason for city workers to unionize, according to the *Emporia Gazette*. Apprehension of older employees has been particularly played upon, with emphasis on the fact that a city manager instead of members of the city commission would henceforth do the hiring and firing.

St. Paul Teachers Call Off Long Strike

The strike of public school teachers in St. Paul, Minnesota, after having been in force for one month, was "suspended" on December 27 when the city charter commission approved a charter amendment for submission to the city council, and by them to popular vote, authorizing an increase of over two million dollars in annual

school expenditures. This would enable large salary increases to be made and possibly improvements to the schools and the school system.

Three New York Villages Advised to Form City

Consolidation of three adjacent villages in Westchester County, New York, to form a single city was recommended at the turn of the year in a report on the three communities—Tarrytown, North Tarrytown and Irvington-on-Hudson—prepared by Dr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Reed, municipal government consultants; it was financed by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., whose Pocantico Hills estate is nearby.

The proposed city would have a population of about 20,000 and would be independent of the towns of Greenburgh and Mt. Pleasant, of which the villages are parts. There would then be only one local government except for school districts, for which the report also recommended consolidation, to be undertaken with the assistance of the State Department of Education.

Various means of eliminating duplicate or excessive expenses were suggested. The Tarrytowns were urged to combine even if Irvington declines.

The first step proposed was the appointment of a committee to draft a charter for submission to the state legislature, after which referenda would be held.

State Legislatures Consider Streamlining

Twelve recommendations for streamlining the legislative process have been prepared by the Committee on Legislative Processes and Procedures of the Council of State Governments, for the attention of each of the 44 state legislatures scheduled to meet this year. Sessions in 42 states began in January with Florida's on April 8 and Alaba-

ma's on May 6. The only four legislatures not scheduled to meet in 1947 are those in Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi and Virginia.

A summary of the recommendations follows:

1. Remove restrictions on length of regular state legislative sessions (sessions now are limited in 26 states);
2. Remove constitutional restrictions on legislators' salaries;
3. Broaden merit systems to include key legislative personnel;
4. Reduce the number of legislative committees through consolidation and reorganization on the basis of subject matter and cooperation between houses;
5. Provide for public hearings on all major bills, with ample notice;
6. Lengthen and stagger legislators' terms;
7. Provide for legislative councils or interim committees with adequate clerical and research facilities;
8. Review and strengthen legislative reference, research, bill drafting and statutory revision services;
9. Limit the period in a legislative session during which bills may be introduced and provide for filing and printing of bills before sessions open;
10. Review and revise rules wherever necessary to expedite legislative procedure, with due regard for fairness and adequate deliberation;
11. Provide for an adequate budget and further centralize legislative fiscal responsibility;
12. Provide for local home rule legislation.

The committee also considered such vital questions as legislative reapportionment, unicameralism, annual versus biennial sessions and voting procedures, but considered them beyond the scope of its current report.

Committees of the majority (Republican) party of this year's Penn-

sylvania legislature have prepared reorganization plans, in accordance with a resolution adopted by the last (1945) legislature and for action by the present one. Senate committees are expected to be reduced from 31 to 20, and House committees from 42 to 32. Surplus employees are to be dropped and pay increased for committee staff members.¹

New Jersey Governor Urges Constitutional Convention

In his inaugural address on January 21 Governor Alfred E. Driscoll of New Jersey called for complete revision of the century-old state constitution. He proposed a convention to draft a new constitution, which would then be submitted to the people at the general election in November. The legislature was asked to submit the question of revision to the public, presumably at a special election at which convention delegates would be selected. He suggested that the legislative representation of the small counties remain undisturbed.

Governor Driscoll thus continues the fight of his predecessor, Walter E. Edge, for constitutional reform in 1943, when the legislature drafted a new constitution which lost in a referendum the following year. (See the REVIEW, 1943-44.)

Federal Legislative Reference Service Expands

The Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress assigned to the Legislative Reference Service the task of meeting the research demands of all individual members of Congress and serving as a reserve research pool for committees. The response of

Congress was to grant an initial substantial increase to a total appropriation of \$425,000 (not including a separate increased appropriation for the State Law Section of \$88,000). By January 1, 1947, it was anticipated that the service would have at least one qualified specialist in a majority of the fields of importance to Congress, and at salaries comparable to those in the executive branch.

Section 203 of the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946 (Public Law 601, 79th Congress, 2nd Session) provides for the establishment, duties, appointments, compensation, grades and retirement of personnel in the Legislative Reference Service. It also authorizes appropriations for the work of the service amounting to \$550,000 for fiscal 1947, \$650,000 for fiscal 1948, and \$750,000 for fiscal 1949.

Since its creation in 1915 the Legislative Reference Service has owed its existence to an item in the annual legislative appropriation acts. The effect of section 203 is to give the service statutory recognition.

Section 203 (b) (2) authorizes the Librarian of Congress to appoint in the Legislative Reference Service senior specialists in a score of broad fields of public policy. Such specialists are to be available for special work with the appropriate committees of Congress in order "to advise and assist any committee of either House or any joint committee in the analysis, appraisal and evaluation of legislative proposals pending before it, or of recommendations submitted to Congress, by the President or any executive agency, and otherwise to assist in furnishing a basis for the proper determination of measures before the committee."

GEORGE B. GALLOWAY

Library of Congress

¹For further reports on improvement of legislative procedure see page 99 this issue.

Budgets and Taxes Keep Going Up

Expenditures, Salaries, and Taxes Follow Living Costs

THE high cost of living and government continues to occupy the center of the researchers' stage. Current bureau reports from many parts of the country tell much the same story, though with local variations. It is a story that has been repeated again and again in reports noted in recent months in this and other sections of the REVIEW.

Sometimes there is the happy twist of a slight reduction in the tax rate as reported both for Rochester and Monroe County, New York, in monthly bulletins of the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research**, W. Earl Weller, director. In Monroe County this was possible despite increased welfare expenditures and salary raises because of increased revenues especially in the form of state aid, reduced debt service and a decrease in the estimate of unpaid taxes.

Facts about the budgets and taxes in Erie County and Buffalo are presented in recent numbers of *Just a Moment*, issued by the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau**, Sidney Detmers, managing director.

Anticipating the need for new local revenue to meet increased expenses, *Your Tax Dollar*, issued by the **Baltimore Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy**, D. Benton Biser, director, emphasizes "that if budget funds are to be spent to the best advantage, there is required a better grade of supervision and workmanship than is yet evident in many departments."

The **Providence Governmental Research Bureau**, Robert E. Pickup,

executive director, points out that "by way of contrast" with the nation-wide trend "the 1947 Providence budget of \$17,500,000, excluding water department operations, is \$700,000 less than 1941 operating expenditures and \$2,200,000 less than total 1941 expenditures. The bureau attributes this distinction to the fact that "the city's expenditures were already comparatively high in 1941." However, it concludes that "the day of comparatively large operating surpluses has passed for Providence."

Taxpayers' Problems, issued by the **New Haven Taxpayers Research Council**, Merle W. DeWees, executive director, tells the more common story of anticipated 1947 expenditures almost a million and one-quarter greater than in 1946, \$736,000 of which is attributed to increased salaries.

Reports in *Citizens' Business*, published by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research**, William C. Beyer, director, on "Next Year's Revenues" and "Next Year's Expenditures," indicate that 1947 city-county expenditures out of revenues will be the largest in Philadelphia history, with pay rolls higher but debt charges going down.

According to the **Citizens' Government Research Bureau of Milwaukee**, Norman N. Gill, director, the budgets of the five local units operating in the city of Milwaukee have increased 51 per cent for operating purposes in the six years since 1941. The same bulletin which carries this report states that the five governments "are fifteen years behind in their permanent improvement programs as a result of practically no construction during the depression and the war." Need for planning "joint permanent improvement programs," estimated to cost over \$200,000,000, is indicated.

"Public insistence that changes in

governmental compensation rates be made only at budget time" is called for in the monthly bulletin of **Government Research, Inc., Los Angeles**, Ed F. Thompson, executive secretary. The same bulletin also wonders if the more than 50 per cent increase in city income attributable largely to the city sales tax and other new taxes is a sufficiently stable revenue foundation for the present spending program of the city.

"They Look to the Legislature, the Story of Pittsburgh's City and School Budget for 1947," is the title of *P. E. L. Newsletter* of the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division**, Leslie J. Reese, director, December 1946. The report notes that a precarious balance is struck for 1947 in the case of the school board by drawing on reserves and a hope for increased state grants and in the case of the city by refunding \$2,300,000 in bonds.

Tax and Other Facts

Comparative tax rates in Oregon cities are presented in the *Information Bulletin*, issued by the **Bureau of Municipal Research and Service of the University of Oregon**, Herman Kehrli, director.

Tax rates of New Mexico municipalities for 1945 and 1946; a consolidated statement of budget allowances for the state, counties, schools and municipalities; and figures on state and local indebtedness are presented in *New Mexico Tax Bulletin* for December, published by the **Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico**, Rupert S. Asplund, director.

Actual and adjusted tax rates of California cities are listed in the October number of *Tax Digest*, published by **California Taxpayers' Association**, N. Bradford Trenham, general manager. Other factual reports in the October and November numbers cover county tax rates; trend of state expenditures, 1940-1945; data on popula-

tion growth; high school costs per pupil; allocation of \$90,000,000 of state aid for public works in cities and counties; California highway revenues and costs of education in California.

"Tax Rate Book for 1946," a compilation of city, school and county tax rates in Kansas, together with the population, assessed valuations, percentage taxes collected, bonded indebtedness, etc., is presented in 27 pages of the January 1947 number of *Kansas Government Journal*, published by the **League of Kansas Municipalities**, John G. Stutz, editor.

Per capita assessments, taxes, expenditures and debt for educational and other local purposes in Canada for 1943, together with a summary table indicating the trend of expenditures 1929-1943, are presented by the **Citizens' Research Institute of Canada**, Horace L. Brittain, director, in *Tax Conference Report* Number 218. This report is the end of a series started in 1922. It is announced that "a new series will be begun on the basis of gross expenditures for all functions except public utilities."

A boost of more than 15 per cent in property taxes to be levied in 1947 throughout Indiana is anticipated in a report of the **Indiana Taxpayers' Association**, Walter T. Horn, executive secretary. The report carries tables giving the property tax levy as advertised and as finally fixed for each county and a table comparing the taxes levied for 1946 and the estimated taxes levied for 1947.

Two recent bulletins of the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council**, Carter W. Atkins, executive director, have presented facts and brief analyses of the costs of government and the tax structure of Connecticut as compared with those of seven other industrial states. Another bulletin reports on the financial condition of the state and still another on the bases and yields

of individual income taxes in the 31 states which levy them.

The **Bureau of Public Administration of the University of California**, Samuel C. May, director, has issued *Postwar Bibliography No. 2: State and Local Finance and Taxation, a Bibliography of Materials Published 1941-1946*, compiled by Dorothy Campbell Tompkins, 98 pages, \$1.50. Director May announces that this bibliography represents a selection from the finance section of the bureau's catalogue of more than 80,000 items on war and postwar problems. It is to form a section of an extensive work covering "social and economic aspects of the postwar reconversion period" based on the entire catalogue.

Education Costs

Increasing personnel and other costs in education are an important factor in public budgets everywhere, as many of the reports noted above indicate. A number of other reports deal exclusively with educational problems.

That the story of increased "school costs in New Mexico is in large part the story of all states of the nation" is the conclusion of *Public School Attendance and School Costs in New Mexico*, by R. J. Mullins and E. H. Fixley, issued by the **Division of Research, Department of Government, University of New Mexico**. This 26-page report sells for 50 cents.

"What constitutes a reasonable salary for Chicago teachers?" and "Where is the money coming from?" are questions discussed in a report entitled *Further Comments on Teachers' Salaries in Chicago* by the **Civic Federation**, Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary. The report includes tables giving facts about salary scales for fourteen large cities.

Facts Concerning the Compensation of Teachers in New Jersey has been issued by the **New Jersey State Chamber of**

Commerce Department of Governmental Research, Alvin A. Burger, director. The report covers the trend of teachers' salaries in New Jersey since 1914 against the background of economic change through the two wars, compares this trend with trends in the compensation of industrial, clerical and other professional workers, and reviews other factors which indicate that, relatively, the desirability of teaching positions in New Jersey is not so low as many people believe. The report suggests bonuses to alleviate hardship cases resulting from temporarily high price levels, and careful study to discover economically safe ways to provide adequate compensation for good teachers to balance any secular rises in wages and prices. This report is to be followed by two others dealing respectively with state school aid in New Jersey and with other facts bearing on the financing of public education.

The possible effects of a recent constitutional amendment setting a minimum for teachers' salaries and providing for additional state funds for education are analyzed in a recent bulletin of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research**, Alfred F. Smith, director.

"Next steps for Wayne U," according to a note by the **Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research**, Loren B. Miller, director, should mean support and assumption of the university by the state as a unit of the statewide educational system.

For Better Control

Running through many reports is a plea for more effective control or management of fiscal operations in order to compensate as much as possible for inevitable increases in cost.

The benefits of pay-as-you-go financing of capital improvements are set forth in *Comments*, published by the

Lackawanna Tax Research Bureau, James J. Kirkwood, executive director.

A lightening of the interest burden on the Philadelphia city debt is noted in *Citizens' Business* published by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research**. Two other recent Philadelphia bulletins deal with the debt problem. One, entitled "It Must Not Happen Again," supports a constitutional amendment started in the legislature in 1945 to "change the city's general debt limit from 10 per cent of the current assessed valuation of taxable property (both realty and personalty) to 12½ per cent of the average of the last ten annual assessed valuations of taxable real estate only."

The **Chicago Civic Federation** has issued a 45-page report, *Salary Rate Structure of the Local Governments of Chicago*, prepared by Stuart W. Shepard, engineer-analyst. The report finds that among urban governments throughout the country pay scales average 16.9 per cent lower than the scales prevailing in manufacturing employment, but that the Chicago local government pay scale is 20 per cent higher than the manufacturing scale in Chicago. For specific classes of Chicago government employees the variation from the standard set in private industry ranges from -3 per cent in the case of draftsmen to +48 per cent in the case of elevator operators and +29 per cent to 49 per cent for janitresses. The first recommendation of the report calls for consideration of the creation of "a small body composed of representatives from each of the local governments," (a) with the immediate objective of providing a single agency to hear claims presented by employee groups and (b) to promote uniform conditions among the several governments.

Bulletin number 250 of the Civic Federation, a statement made at the sanitation district of Chicago public

budget hearing, urges serious consideration of simplification and consolidation of local government in Chicago, a complete system of centralized purchasing for the sanitation district, creation of a department of personnel and of a department of finance, etc.

"Current city salaries generally appear to be above or equal to those prevailing in private firms," according to a survey by the San Francisco Civil Service Commission reported in a December bulletin of the **San Francisco Bureau of Governmental Research**.

The San Francisco bureau has also issued a bulletin on San Francisco hospital costs comparing daily patient costs and charges with those in hospitals in seven other metropolitan jurisdictions.

Rates of Pay and Conditions of Employment of Sanitation Laborers in the United States in 1946, prepared by Sonya K. Essin, librarian, has been issued by the **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research** as a contribution to "the information needed in appraising the fairness of the pay rates of Philadelphia's sanitation laborers." The information is summarized in four tables.

What Your Town Lives By, a Discussion of Budget Making, has been issued by the **Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division**, as an indication to citizens and budget-makers of the league's attitude toward budgets.

Another recent *P. E. L. News Letter* entitled "Centralized Accounting for Pittsburgh: Modern Business Methods, Tax Billing and Fiscal Administration" discharges "the pleasant duty of making a progress report on a project of long standing." The report predicts that the installation "should pay dividends in better tax collection."

Legal Basis of Newark Budget Procedure is the subject of a 22-page report by the **Newark Bureau of Mu-**

municipal Research, Henry W. Connor, director.

Legislative Councils Meet 1947 Deadline

The flow of legislative council reports prepared for the 1947 sessions of the state legislatures continues.

The November *Progress Report* of the **Kansas Legislative Council**, F. H. Guild, director of research, lists eight bills to be submitted to the legislature, eight recommendations not accompanied by bills and eight other matters on which information is or will be ready for submission to the legislature. Kansas reports received include: *Licensing of Professional Engineers*, 30 pages, a factual report covering statutory definitions and requirements in various state laws and in the model law approved by the American Society of Civil Engineers. The report concludes with a statement of "fundamental legislative considerations involved." *Psychiatric Facilities in Kansas*, Part I, *Objectives of a State Program*, nine pages; Part II, *The Five State Institutions*, 78 pages, describes a survey conducted by the staff members of the United States Public Health Service. The reports point to a comprehensive modernization and expansion of mental hygiene facilities in Kansas. Part II concludes with 45 specific legislative and administrative recommendations covering all phases of the program. *Retirement of Municipal Employees* is also available.

Six **Nebraska Legislative Council** reports were adopted at the final meeting of the council, November 25, 1946. No. 9 is a report of the Subcommittee on Taxation, 56 pages, including a statement of principles and sixteen recommendations. The report concludes that the immediate need is to correct inequalities and inefficiency in the administration of the property tax.

No. 10, report of the Subcommittee

on Governor's Mansion, three pages, recommends that construction of a new mansion "be deferred until such time when the work can be done on a more efficient and economic basis" without competing so directly with private housing projects. No. 11 is a report of the Subcommittee on the Genoa State Farm, sixteen pages. No. 12, a report of the Subcommittee on Colleges and Universities, "intended to be primarily impressionistic," is the result of visits by a subcommittee to nine publicly-supported institutions in neighboring states. The visitations were suggested and financed by an anonymous giver to the University of Nebraska Foundation with a view to giving members of the legislature an opportunity to learn first hand about the operation of other universities, in order that they might have a better understanding of the problems confronting the University of Nebraska.

No. 13, a report of the Subcommittee on Reports of State Departments, nine pages, recommends that "all major agencies of the state government should be required to submit periodical reports . . . in such a manner as to make them readily available to public officials and interested citizens generally" but suggests a number of ways in which present unnecessary and duplicating reporting should be curtailed. No. 14, a report of the Subcommittee on Realignment of Legislative Committees, twelve pages, points out that "the Nebraska committee system is already a streamlined one" embracing the smallest number of committees of any state legislature. Although finding that no spectacular change in the present system is in order, the report recommends eight specific improvements.

The Disposal of State Personal Property (eight pages), an analysis of present laws and procedures together with recommendations to correct certain

deficiencies and to centralize the sale of all personal property through the division of purchases and stores, has been issued by the **Alabama Legislative Council**. The report was prepared by the **Alabama State Legislative Reference Service**.

Bureau Aids Legislature

The **Bureau of Public Administration, University of South Carolina**, Christian L. Larsen, assistant director, has issued the first two numbers of its 1947 series on legislative problems: *Integrated Systems of State-Supported Higher Education*, 32 pages; *Aids for State Legislators*, 25 pages. These reports were prepared in pursuance of an offer by the bureau to prepare "concise research summaries covering available materials on problems which might come before the 1947 general assembly." Dr. Larsen explains that as an impartial fact-finding agency the bureau avoids definite recommendations on controversial subjects. The first report, pointing out that South Carolina does not have an integrated system of higher learning, presents an analysis "of action taken in other states as an aid to South Carolina legislators." The appendix contains statutory and constitutional provisions of a number of other states. The second report is a convenient survey of the organization and activities of existing legislative councils, bill drafting agencies and reference services.

Two other reports from university bureaus deal with legislative organization. Hallie Farmer continues her study of the legislative process in Alabama with *Recess and Interim Committees, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Alabama*, 43 pages. Roscoe C. Martin, director of the bureau, points out in a foreword that recess and interim committees "for almost half a century have played a

more important role in Alabama than in most other states." Dr. Farmer concludes that these committees have had an important effect on the legislative process and that a few minor changes would equip them for an even more useful role, especially in legislative planning.

A bulletin of the **Bureau of Governmental Research, University of Kansas**, Ethan P. Allen, director, carries a report entitled "The Kansas Legislature, Its Organization and Work," by Tom Page, research associate, and Rhoten A. Smith, research assistant. This report covers briefly the length of sessions, organization, costs, work and apportionment in the Kansas legislature.

Further Improvements in Legislative Procedure 1947, recommended by the **Connecticut Legislative Council**, is the subject of a report of the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council**, Carter W. Atkins, executive director. The 21 proposals were worked out by the legislative council with the cooperation of the staff of the Connecticut Public Expenditure Council. They cover a great variety of matters including the improvement of legislative records and bill service, legislative supervision over rules and regulations of executive departments, strengthening the governor's veto, facilitating the transaction of legislative business, an automatic system of reapportioning senatorial districts and reduction in size of the House of Representatives. A number of the proposals are designed to strengthen reforms adopted in 1945.

Law Making in Connecticut, issued by the Institute of Public Service, University of Connecticut, Joseph M. Loughlin, director, charts and explains briefly the procedure followed in enacting Senate and House bills into law.

Civic Groups Prepare for 1947 Legislatures

Seek County and Electoral Improvements, Home Rule

THE year 1947 will find nearly all of the state legislatures in regular session and civic groups the country over are preparing their legislative programs and planning to keep an eye on proceedings.

According to its weekly *News*, the **Municipal League of Seattle** will cover the 1947 legislature as it did two years ago. Secretary C. A. Crosser has been designated to attend all legislative sessions. He will prepare weekly articles for the *News* to keep members informed and will cooperate with other organizations in promoting legislation for county home rule and such other measures as the league may endorse.

LWV Programs

The **New York League of Women Voters**, Ruth Harper, executive secretary, is conducting a vigorous campaign of education on permanent personal registration of voters prior to introduction in the state legislature of a bill to provide "P. P. R." for all localities in the state. The **New York City League**, Mrs. Walter Neale, president, made its official bow in the campaign by a distribution along the city's famous Fifth Avenue of 100,000 fliers which announced a meeting on the subject addressed by J. Martin McDonough of Baltimore, a leader in the campaign to secure permanent registration for Maryland. The league's speakers bureau is prepared to furnish other groups with speakers and a kit is available for distribution.

The *New York Times* has stated editorially that it endorses "the campaign soon to be started by the New York League of Women Voters for action"

by the 1947 legislature and comments that "it is a movement that deserves the support of good citizens."

The **Georgia League of Women Voters**, Mrs. Leonard Haas, president, in its December *Georgia Voter*, warns that there is a movement on foot to have the state laws regulating primaries—the actual election in that state—repealed. Political leaders who want to prevent the Negro from voting, says the bulletin, "THINK this would take the primaries out of the reach of the federal courts." League members are asked to get in touch with their legislators. Other legislative issues in which the league is interested include home rule, educational requirements for voting and various items to make the state's school system more efficient including a state-supported twelve-grade school system.

The **League of Women Voters of Wisconsin**, of which Mrs. William A. Norris is president, has announced its 1947 legislative program as follows: (1) Statutory and constitutional changes to provide for improvement of county government; (2) increased and more equitable state aids for education and reorganization of school districts; (3) revision and codification of public welfare laws, control of juvenile delinquency, increased appropriations for state department of public welfare; (4) reapportionment of the state's legislative districts on the basis of the 1940 census. Mrs. John E. Wise is state chairman of legislation.

The elimination of technicalities and other burdensome requirements in the election law which hamper independent bodies and insurgent groups in putting up candidates for public office was the subject of a conference between members of the executive committee of the **Citizens Union of New York City**, George H. Hallett, Jr.,

secretary, and the local law committees of the two major parties. The Citizens Union pointed out that the "elector's right of suffrage includes the right to nominate candidates. Each year, however, the party machines succeed in throwing out dozens of nominating and designating petitions on technical grounds." The purpose of the meeting was exploratory, says the union in a recent newspaper release, and party representatives were not asked to commit themselves on any specific proposal. The union will urge the simplification of election law procedure as part of its 1947 legislative program.

In commenting on the current demands for an increase in compensation for members of the Michigan legislature, *The Civic Searchlight* of the **Detroit Citizens League**, William P. Lovett, executive secretary, wonders if "bigger pay will produce better legislators."

Legislative dinners in sixteen cities were sponsored by the **Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce**, Leonard P. Fox, general secretary, in order to give an estimated 1500 businessmen an opportunity to know their state legislators better. Speeches and discussions dealt with matters facing the 1947 legislative sessions. John H. Moody has been appointed manager of the state chamber's legislative service.

State legislative services of the **Hartford, Connecticut, Chamber of Commerce**, William A. Dower, executive vice president, and the **Minneapolis Chamber**, Walter W. Finke, executive vice president, are planning to keep members informed of developments at their respective state capitals.

Cleveland League Celebrates 50 Years of Service

A "gala" banquet, addressed by Murray Seasongood, former mayor of

Cincinnati and well known in the civic field, marked the 50th anniversary of the founding of the **Citizens League of Cleveland** in 1896. Guest of honor was William G. Mather, one of the founders of the league and its oldest living member. Judge Carl D. Friebolin, long identified with the league's work, was toastmaster. Speakers included Mayor Thomas A. Burke and League President Wendell A. Falsgraf.

Mr. Seasongood spoke on "Local Government in the United States—A Challenge and an Opportunity." He commended the league on its activities and influence in the community. City governments are better today than they were 50 years ago, he said, because of great advances in study and technique of local government, but he warned that "even the partial advances that have been won are never secure and always in danger."

"Let the league be comforted in the reflection that in worthy endeavor there is no failure," he said in closing. "May it ever be mindful of its great obligation to try to bring about a new public morality and a spirit which will rescue local government from the captivity in which it is held as a spoils ground for the achievement of national political machines. And in its next 50 years may the league not be as Oliver described the oak in *As You Like It*, 'its high top bald with dry antiquity,' but verdant, vigorous and a refuge for all good endeavor that comes under its shade."

As part of the anniversary program the league's newly created "annual commendations" of public officials for outstanding public service were presented to the late Joseph T. Sweeny, former city finance director; Linda A. Eastman, former head of the Cleveland Public Library; James A. Reynolds, former county commissioner; William A. Stinchcomb, director of the

Metropolitan Park System; and John A. Zangerle, county auditor.

A 30-page pamphlet, *The Citizens League of Cleveland 1896-1946—Fifty Years of Critical and Constructive Service*, prepared by Andrew Pangrace, chairman of the Committee on Publications, was issued in commemoration of the anniversary. On the front cover, in gold, is a tiny reproduction of *Greater Cleveland*, the league's weekly bulletin. Photographs of the founder, past secretaries and directors, and leaders in league activities are reproduced, as well as those of present officials and the staff, headed by Robert W. Chamberlin, director. The pamphlet gives a quick resume of league activities over the past 50 years. It comments on the organization of the Cleveland Bureau of Governmental Research in 1944 (which has the same office and staff) and the recent announcement that research will be conducted jointly by the Department of Political Science of Western Reserve University and the Bureau of Governmental Research, with results available to the Citizens League.

Other Groups Meet

Hon. Charles P. Taft, president of the **Cincinnati City Charter Committee**, addressed that organization at its 21st annual dinner on the major factors for good and ill which face both the Charter Committee and the city.

Among the oldest of active civic groups is the **Connecticut Merit System Association**, Robert C. Deming, secretary, which celebrated its 65th anniversary with a dinner on January 23. Henry J. MacFarland, director of the Municipal Service Bureau of the New York State Civil Service Commission, was the principal speaker.

The **New Jersey Taxpayers Association** met January 10 at Newark for its sixteenth annual meeting. Speakers at the banquet were U. S. Senator

Chapman Rivercomb of West Virginia and Dr. George S. Benson, president of Harding College of Arkansas. Featured at the afternoon session was a "taxpayers' clinic" and talks by Herbert J. Miller of the Citizens' National Committee and A. R. Everson, executive vice president of the New Jersey association.

"Better Government" was the theme of the annual meeting of the **Nebraska Federation of County Taxpayers Leagues**, Frank G. Arnold, president, at Lincoln. Several sessions were scheduled for December 9, beginning at 9 A.M. and ending with a banquet addressed by Herbert J. Miller of the Citizens National Committee and Hon. Val Peterson, new governor of Nebraska. The federation's annual business meeting was held the following morning.

Voting Machines for Chicago Area

Action at the November election resulting in the four-to-one approval of voting machines for Chicago and the rest of Cook County has been outlined by the **Illinois League of Women Voters** and by the **Union League Club of Chicago**. Both organizations were active in the attainment of enabling legislation, passed by the legislature in 1941 with the aid of the **Joint Civic Committee on Voting Machines**, but heretofore utilized only by Rock Island County. In September 1946 the *Chicago Times* ran a series of articles urging action in that city; representatives of civic organizations later prevailed upon County Judge Edmund K. Jarecki to order the question on the ballot. An active campaign was organized; articles, speeches and radio programs were arranged, 115,000 copies of a campaign leaflet were distributed, and voting machine models were demonstrated in the city hall and other public or semi-public places.

A Good Slogan

"Make Steubenville a Name to Be Proud of!" is the slogan for the new **Citizens League for Good Government of Steubenville and Jefferson County, Ohio**. H. Calvin Cook is acting chairman. The group has been running a membership blank in the local newspaper with good results. Among matters to be considered is the council-manager plan.

* * *

A Job Well Done

Forward, bulletin of the **Wisconsin League of Women Voters**, offers congratulations to the local league in **Madison** for its successful campaign to secure the council-manager plan for the city at the November election. The league initiated the movement and league members circulated most of the petitions for a manager referendum. Its speakers bureau arranged 46 talks before various local groups. There were also three public meetings and twelve radio broadcasts.

* * *

"How Knoxville Did It"

This is the title of an editorial appearing in the *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, congratulating Knoxville on its recall of three of its councilmen, including the mayor, for "abusing the city manager charter." "The methods the people of Knoxville used," cites the editorial, "are valuable to any community in which the people would like to regain control over their government. Note these three steps:

"(1) A **Good Government Group** was formed to serve permanently as a watch-dog over the city government.

"(2) Leaders came forward to head a movement for immediate action to oust the offending politicians.

"(3) The people's support was marshalled by putting forward a good government ticket of substantial public-

spirited men—somebody around whom they could rally. Thus the voters were given an incentive to pay poll tax and register for the election."

* * *

Need for New State Constitution

The **Committee for a New Constitution for Kentucky**, headed by Dr. Thomas D. Clark of the University of Kentucky, is bringing the need for a new constitution before the voters of the state. J. E. Reeves, assistant professor of political science at the University of Kentucky, is on leave to act as full-time executive for the new organization.

One of the articles published by *The Connecticut Voter*, **Connecticut League of Women Voters**, Mrs. Alexander Marcus, editor, in its series on "Know Your State," is "Revision of the Constitution of Connecticut." One of the urgent needs, says the article, is the provision of home rule for local government.

* * *

Veteran Activities

According to a report in *Southern City*, veterans in **Hartsville, Tennessee**, where a regular election has not been held in several years, are circulating a petition calling for a change in the city government and installation of a new water system. The veterans contend that present officials should have been replaced or re-elected in 1944.

Representatives of the Community Service Division of the Kansas City, Missouri, Welfare Department are visiting all families in veterans' housing centers to discuss recreational and social needs, explain city services, and tell them of a plan to organize a community council among residents at each veterans' housing site. A general meeting to discuss the organization has been arranged.

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Town Hall Tonight

The first in a series of six "Town Hall" dinner forums, sponsored by the **Seattle Municipal League**, C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, was devoted to traffic and parking problems. The meetings are held twice a month and portions of the discussion are broadcast.

The **People's Forum of Yonkers, New York**, continues its monthly discussions of matters of public interest and problems confronting the city. The meeting for February will be sponsored by the **Yonkers Committee of 100**, Henry B. Gould, executive secretary. Dr. Luther Gulick, president of the **Institute of Public Administration**, will discuss "What Can a Citizen Expect from His Government?"

* * *

Looking Forward

Both the Men's and Women's Divisions of the **Cincinnati City Charter Committee**, Forest Frank, executive director, are already at work organizing for the 1947 councilmanic campaign. Ward meetings held have evinced much enthusiasm. The best organization in years is predicted by Mrs. Elizabeth C. Reid, vice president in charge of organization. The committee's Charter Women's Club is planning neighborhood meetings. The Young Charterites are conducting a membership drive. Anyone under 30 is eligible, reports Mrs. Reid, but "you don't have to show your birth certificate." The committee's Smoke Elimination Committee is urging everyone interested in the adoption of a new smoke ordinance, based on that of St. Louis, to write to the city council or to circulate petitions in its behalf.

* * *

Community Projects

The **National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs**, Mrs. Sara Sparks, chairman of public affairs, has sent a questionnaire to all

its local groups on their community projects for the year. Clubs are asked to report on the type of project, who proposed it, why it is needed, what club committees are cooperating, and what other local groups are cooperating.

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Strictly Personal

Walter L. Pierpoint, full-time president of the Association of Omaha Taxpayers, is given high praise in the *Readers' Digest* article, "How You Can Get Greater Value from Fewer Tax Dollars," by O. K. Armstrong. The story describes the work of the Omaha group led by Mr. Pierpoint in making citizens of that community "justly proud of the fact that their town has one of the lowest tax rates, and the highest credit rating, of any city of its size in the land."

Harland C. Stockwell, assistant executive secretary of the Civic Federation of Chicago since 1935, has been made executive secretary, according to announcement by James A. Cunningham, president of the federation. The position involves responsibility for carrying on the work of the organization under the president and directors, Mr. Cunningham's announcement said.

Mr. Stockwell succeeds **Douglas Sutherland**, executive secretary since 1910, who has been given the title of director.

Allen H. Seed, Jr., executive vice president of the Minneapolis Civic Council, was re-elected president of the National Association of Civic Secretaries at its annual meeting in Philadelphia, held in conjunction with the National Municipal League's National Conference on Government. **William P. Lovett**, executive secretary of the Detroit Citizens League, was re-elected vice president, and **Forest Frank**, executive director of the Cincinnati Charter Committee, was chosen as secretary-treasurer.

Forty Years of P. R. in Tasmania

Observer Terms Use Unqualified Success

PROPORTIONAL representation has been in continuous use for the Tasmanian House of Assembly since 1907. It was first proposed by A. J. Clark, then attorney-general for the state. As usual when any reform is advocated, some objection to its adoption was raised. Because of this opposition it was decided to try P. R. at one election for members of the House from the cities of Hobart and Launceston only. The act was passed in 1896 and although its success was freely acknowledged so far as these cities were concerned, the differentiation between the voting methods applied to these cities and to the country districts gave rise to dissatisfaction. Accordingly the measure was withdrawn in 1901.

Early City Experience

In its application to the two cities one change was made from the P. R. system as advocated by Thomas Hare: an elector was required to vote for as many candidates as there were members to be elected. This requirement was later modified to provide that a voter must express a choice for at least one-half of the number to be elected. With a view to eliminating the element of chance thought to be associated with the system, a very exact method for the transfer of surplus ballots was worked out.¹

The results of the elections in the

Hobart and Launceston constituencies were very satisfactory. In Hobart there were twelve candidates for the six seats to be contested, and five of these were known as "the countryman's friends." The number of votes recorded was 2,746, approximately 60 per cent of those on the roll. In Launceston there were seven candidates for the four seats. The number of votes polled was 1,827.

In Launceston, the returning officer, after a few trial ballots, declared he did not want any increase in his staff, and did not anticipate any difficulty in regard to the count. In Hobart the services of the government statistician were retained, and a large increase in the number of deputy returning officers made, but no difficulty arose. The result of the count was declared in Hobart in less than five hours and in Launceston in four. The number of informal (invalid) votes cast in Hobart was 104, about 3 per cent, spoiled chiefly because the names were scored out instead of a number being placed against them. In Launceston the number of invalid votes was 58. These facts indicate that there was no difficulty in initiating P. R.

The Hobart correspondent to the Adelaide press, writing concerning these two trial elections, said: "The more we study the results of these elections the clearer the fact becomes that Hare's system does secure correct representation and prevents the polling of a large number of useless votes; and if true representation is what is wanted, this is the only way yet devised on which it can be surely obtained."

In 1897 a pamphlet, *Observations on the Working Results of the Hare Sys-*

¹The P. R. system used in Tasmania is frequently referred to as the Hare-Clark system.

tem of Election in Tasmania, was issued by R. M. Johnston, F.L.S., government statistician of Tasmania, in which he reports on Hobart and Launceston.

Commonwealth Elections

An official report by the chief returning officer of Tasmania to the Senate of the Australian Commonwealth contains convincing evidence as to the justice and practicability of the single transferable vote for parliamentary elections. The report deals with the election of Tasmanian members to the commonwealth Senate and House of Representatives in 1901 by the single transferable vote. The state of Tasmania was treated as one constituency. The percentage of spoiled papers was low—1.44 per cent in the Senate election and 1.8 per cent in the election for the House.

Provincial Legislature

Although the act providing P. R. for the election of Assembly members from Hobart and Launceston was repealed, the benefits arising from its use were realized and its reintroduction in a more complete form was not long delayed. In 1907 a new act provided P. R. for all members of the House of Assembly. The state was divided into five electoral districts with six members from each. The first election under the new law took place in April 1909 and the results met with general approval.

A *Report on the General Election*, April 30, 1909, by the chief returning officer and two deputy returning officers said: "The working of the system from the point of view of returning officers was an unqualified success. No serious difficulty of any kind was found in conducting the scrutiny. The scrutines for two of the districts were carried out in country towns, where the number of persons available for

choice of staff were small; but here, as elsewhere, no serious difficulty was found."

Repeal Attempt Thwarted

Notwithstanding the fact that P. R. has proved consistently successful, in 1932 an attempt was made by the McPhee government to abolish it and substitute single-member districts. At the preceding election a promise was made by the McPhee party to reduce the cost of parliamentary government, and it was to honor this promise that the suggested change was introduced.

It was proposed to reduce the number of members from 30 to 24 and to establish single-member electorates. The bill providing the change was moved by the chief secretary, Hon. C. E. James, who said: "Experience had shown that the present electorates were so large that members found difficulty in keeping in touch with their constituents. He did not propose to frame any indictment of the P. R. system, because if there was a larger voting population and a numerically stronger House, the abolition of that system could scarcely be justified; but the fact remained that with an Assembly of 24 members, such as the bill contemplated, a continuance of the present method of electing members was almost bound to result in an equality of parties and therefore deadlocks. If members represented smaller electorates, they would be involved in less expense in discharging their parliamentary duties, they would be able to devote more attention to a small constituency, and electoral campaigns would become less exacting and far less costly."

The leader of the opposition, A. G. Ogilvie, K. C., said it appeared as if the bill had been introduced with a knowledge that it had no chance of being passed. It was obviously for use at the next election, and every-

body in Tasmania knew it. Single electorates meant "parish pump" politics in which a member's mind had to be "as narrow as a match." A member in those circumstances could not look at a problem from a state point of view. The representative of a big electorate could better afford to act in a national manner. The bill reeked with hypocrisy and it was a farce.

On November 23 when the provision in the bill for single electorates was put to the House it was defeated by twelve votes to ten.

No further debate took place and on December 9, on a motion moved by the treasurer, it was ordered that the bill be withdrawn.

A perusal of the speeches made by members opposing P. R. shows they were only half-hearted in their opposition to this just system of voting. Their main concern seemed to be to save expense and work for the candidates. The electors appeared unworthy of much consideration. They overlooked the fact that the main purpose of an electoral act is to give represen-

(Continued on page 120)

TABLE I—ELECTIONS, TASMANIAN HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

<i>Election</i>	<i>Labor Seats in Proportion to Votes</i>	<i>Seats Won</i>	<i>Non-Labor Seats in Proportion to Votes</i>	<i>Seats Won</i>
1909	11.69	12	18.31	18
1912	13.65	14	16.35	16
1913	13.80	14	15.78	16
1916	14.54	14	15.46	16
1919	12.44	13	17.56	17
1922	11.42	12	18.07	17 ^a
1925	15.58	16	14.12	14
1928	15.15	14	14.85	16
1931	10.98	10	18.39	19 ^a
1934	14.39	15	14.64	13 ^a
1937	18.06	18	11.94	12
1941	18.89	20	11.11	10

^aWhere the number of members does not total 30, independents have been elected.

TABLE II—INVALID BALLOTS, TASMANIA

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number of Invalid Votes</i>	<i>Per Cent Invalid</i>	<i>Per Cent Electors Voted</i>
1909	1,442	2.86	52.6
1912	2,166	2.85	73.5
1913	2,035	2.87	67.2
1916	4,348	5.51 ^a	73.6
1919	2,757	3.88 ^a	66.1
1922	1,834	2.63	63.1
1925	1,714	2.22	67.3
1928	2,973	3.24	81.9
1931	3,885	3.45	95.0
1934	3,855	3.19	94.5
1937	2,997	2.41	94.3
1941	6,344	4.99	91.2

^aThe proportions in these years were exaggerated by the inclusion of votes by persons who were not on the roll.

City-County Cooperation Takes Limelight

Consolidation of Functions Sought by Officials, Voters

LOOKING toward efficiency, as well as a saving in costs, more cities and counties are making plans to cooperate in the administration of various governmental functions.

The county court of Pemiscot County and the city of Caruthersville, Missouri, are cooperating in the installation of a county-wide police radio system. The system will be operated on a 24-hour basis.

High Point and Guilford County, North Carolina, are making plans for the collection of taxes for both units by the county, the city to pay 45 per cent of the cost of levying and collecting. The cities of Greensboro and High Point have secured the approval of Guilford County for submission of a bill to the 1947 legislature providing that the registration system of the two cities be merged with that of the county, thereby eliminating separate registrations of voters. This action will follow the path already set by Durham and Raleigh, reports a recent issue of *Popular Government*, publication of the North Carolina Institute of Government.

The governing bodies of Durham and Durham County, North Carolina, have been meeting together to discuss joint problems such as proposed large capital expenditures for schools and the possibility of a combined city-county government center as a "living memorial" to World War II veterans.

City Councilman James E. Jackson of Atlanta has stated that he will urge his city and Fulton County, Georgia, to join in the construction of a new

incinerator, says *Southern City*. Councilman Jackson said the present city incinerator will soon need an additional unit if it is to operate at maximum efficiency.

Another County Studies Governmental Relationships

Skagit County, Washington, now also has a local Council on Intergovernmental Relations. Other counties with such councils include Henry County, Indiana; Blue Earth County, Minnesota; Colquitt County, Georgia; and Santa Clara, California.¹

Draft Manager Bill for Anne Arundel County

A bill to provide a modified manager plan for Anne Arundel County, Maryland, will be introduced shortly in the Maryland legislature. It is backed by a commission of seventeen appointed by the county's legislative delegation.

The bill retains the present county commission which would appoint a manager or executive director to serve under it. The manager would have charge of reorganizing the county setup, making bulk purchases, and in other ways working for the reduction of county expenses. It is planned to abolish the eight separate road districts, each at present with its own equipment and tax rate, bringing them under the general supervision of the county.

Wisconsin Counties Press for Home Rule

The Wisconsin County Boards Association devotes its lead article in a recent issue of *Wisconsin Counties* to the subject of home rule for Wisconsin.

¹See the REVIEW, February 1946, page 90; April 1946, page 206; and November 1946, pages 538 and 551.

sin counties. The article consists of minutes of a public hearing of the Legislative Interim Committee on County Government. The witnesses appearing before the committee stressed the importance of transferring more substantive power to counties. The issue also published testimony before the committee involving alternative proposals of county board representation.

Texas Counties Request State and Federal Action

The West Texas County Judges and Commissioners Association, in a recent meeting, recommended to the state legislature that the county commissioners courts be permitted to establish all county salaries. Also it recommended that the federal government dispose of the land it had acquired under the submarginal land program and programs incidental to prosecution of the war in order that such lands might be restored to the county tax rolls.

Illinois Counties Set Up Health Departments

Since passage of enabling legislation in 1943, 22 Illinois counties have adopted full-time county health departments, 21 of them by popular referendum. Two counties defeated the proposition at the polls.

Missouri Counties Change to Photographic Recording

Five Missouri counties have turned to modern mechanical methods of recording documents. The recorders of deeds of Cole, Buchanan, Jackson, Pettis and Jasper Counties now use photocopy machines and St. Louis County is considering the purchase of a similar machine.

Advantages of the process include 100 per cent accuracy, saving of labor

and paper costs, speed and relative permanency of the records. It is estimated that through the saving of labor the machine pays for its initial cost each year.

Planning Board Changes Recommended

The Municipal League of Seattle has recommended the following changes in the structure of the King County Planning Commission:

1. The county engineer and one county commissioner should be ex-officio voting members of the twelve-member commission. No other county official or employee should be a member. The secretary should not be a member.

2. When vacancies exist, the commission should prepare a list of two or more nominees for each vacancy to present for action to the board of county commissioners.

3. The planning budget should be divorced from the county engineer's budget. The commission should be empowered to appoint its own employees.

4. After four unexcused absences within a year by a planning commission member, the commission should be empowered to recommend to the county board that the member's position be declared vacant.

5. The planning commission should be given sufficient staff to enable it to zone, rezone, and perform other necessary aspects of county planning.

Two Missouri Counties Abolish Townships

Daviess and Livingston Counties, Missouri, have voted in popular referenda to eliminate township government. This marks the first time that such a proposal has succeeded at the polls in Missouri.

San Diego County Provides Chief Administrator

San Diego County, California, has created the position of "chief administrative officer" whose duties will include the direction and control of most of the county's departments including about 1,800 employees. The Board of Supervisors plans to make its appointment without regard to residence. The county's Department of Civil Service and Personnel is accepting applications for the position, the salary for which has been set tentatively at \$12,000.

County Home Rule Amendment in Washington Legislature

A constitutional amendment providing home rule for counties of over 100,000 population has been introduced into the legislature of the state of Washington and referred to the Senate Constitutional Reform and Election Committee, whose chairman is sponsoring the measure. If the amendment is passed by the legislature and signed by the governor, it will be submitted to popular vote in 1948.

Iowa Grand Jury Criticizes County Policies

The Black Hawk County, Iowa, Grand Jury in a recent report asserts that better buildings are provided for the county's cows, hogs and horses than for unfortunate old people. The report declared, however, that the buildings were clean and the supervisory personnel sympathetic and efficient. Significant findings and recommendations of the Grand Jury include the following:

"The wave of fire tragedies this year proves how inadequate are fire prevention facilities in most public buildings, even those advertised as fireproof.

They are certainly dangerously inadequate in this detention hospital, which is a natural firetrap by reason of its frame construction. Until a new and suitable fireproof building can be erected as a detention hospital, the board of supervisors should immediately install a modern and adequate automatic sprinkler system.

"We recommend such increases in nurses' pay at the detention hospital as will enable the manager to employ and keep good nurses. . . . We recommend higher salaries for both manager and hired help at the county home.

"The building housing the mentally ill and insane patients is a good building in good condition. The building housing the aged and infirm and indigent patients is a disgrace to the people of Black Hawk County. . . .

"While, as taxpayers, this Grand Jury appreciates a conservative regard for watchfulness over the taxpayers' money, we want to go on record as saying that there are some places where it is necessary and wise to spend some of the taxpayers' money and we believe that it would be the wishes of the majority of the people in Black Hawk County to make these very much needed improvements."

New York Justice Courts Report

A recent release by the comptroller of New York State reveals that 77 per cent of all criminal cases or 71 per cent of all cases tried in justice of peace courts in 1945 involved alleged traffic violations. In a dozen counties, however, civil cases constituted nearly a third of the total. The statistics reveal also that the 10 per cent of the justices near large urban areas accounted for 60 per cent of the justice court business.

University Makes 'in Lieu' Payments to City

Ann Arbor Will Receive over \$125,000 This Year

THE city of Ann Arbor, Michigan, has recently reached an agreement with the University of Michigan under which the university will pay the city about \$125,000 this year in lieu of property taxes and may pay as much as one million dollars over a ten-year period. In addition, the university will in the future make a flat payment of \$5,000 as a capital investment for utilities for each new university building erected.

Ann Arbor has more tax-exempt property than it has property on the tax rolls, most of it owned by the university, according to Mayor William E. Brown, Jr., writing in the December 1946 *Michigan Municipal Review*. The university is by law permitted to contribute to the cost of governing the city, but such payments are not mandatory. Earlier the city proposed the doubling of water and sewer charges on tax-exempt property, in an effort to recoup part of the expense for services to non-taxpaying property, and following these proposals the university met with a special committee to plan a system of "in lieu" payments.

The formal contract provides for payment of \$97,600 earmarked for expansion of the city's water or sewage disposal facilities and of \$7,500 in exchange for discontinuance of a "free bed" arrangement for city employees, together with annual payments equal to the salaries of seven policemen (now about \$20,500) for the university area. Informally agreed to are the payments for installing utility improvements for new buildings and

an eventual payment of about \$50,000 annually toward the city's fire and police budgets. The university is also to join in asking the state legislature to provide about \$200,000 to build and equip a new fire station in the university area.

Courts Strike Chain Store Tax, Oleomargarine Sales Licenses

Two types of tax measures designed to "protect" certain classes of distributors or producers were held unconstitutional in two states during the closing months of 1946. One was Kentucky's chain store tax, the other Pennsylvania's annual license tax on wholesalers and retailers of oleomargarine.

The Kentucky chain store tax, adopted in 1940, was typical of similar measures enacted in several other states. It imposed a graduated tax ranging from \$25 a year for each store in chains of two to five stores to \$200 a year for each store in chains of more than 250 stores. The number of stores in the chain included out-of-state stores, although the tax was levied only on those stores of the chain located in Kentucky. On November 29, 1946, in *Reeves v. Adam Hat Stores, Inc.*, the Kentucky State Court of Appeals held the tax was a revenue measure and ruled the classifications unreasonable and the tax non-uniform. Similar acts passed in 1930 and 1934 had also been declared unconstitutional.

In Pennsylvania the Dauphin County (Harrisburg) Court held that a law enacted in 1901, imposing an annual license tax of \$500 on wholesalers and \$100 on retailers who sold oleomargarine was "unreasonable, confiscatory and discriminatory, and constitutes an illegal restraint of trade."

Minneapolis Asks State Aid

The Standing Committee on Ordinances and Legislation of the city council of Minneapolis has prepared an attractive brochure,¹ illustrated with simplified charts and tables, to support its request that the new state legislature increase fiscal aid to Minnesota cities.

Citing that the city has imposed the highest property tax rate in its history for 1947 and has avoided deficits except for relief by deferring maintenance and replacements, etc., the city council urges that the state: (1) double the liquor tax and allocate half the total proceeds back to the municipalities on the basis of population; (2) increase the gross earnings tax on railroads from 5 per cent to 7 per cent and allocate 30 per cent of the total proceeds to municipalities and townships or counties, again on the basis of population; (3) allocate 30 per cent of the proceeds of the gross earnings on other utilities to the municipalities and townships or counties on the basis of population; and (4) impose a state luxury tax on cigarettes of two cents per pack, with half the proceeds to go to the local units on a per capita basis.

Wyoming Defeats Tax Rate Limit Amendment

A proposed constitutional amendment to raise the maximum city and town levy of eight mills to twelve mills was defeated by the voters of Wyoming on November 5, 1946. While the measure received a majority vote, 32,533 to 21,284, it was defeated because the state constitution requires that a constitutional amendment must

secure the approval of a majority of all ballots cast in the election rather than a majority of the votes cast for a particular amendment. This total was 83,086 votes.

A similar defeat was suffered by a proposed amendment which would have exempt airport facilities from the general requirement of Article xvi, Section 6, of the constitution which prohibits the state from engaging in internal improvements unless authorized by a two-thirds vote of the people. The proposal received 41,254 favorable votes to 16,175 unfavorable, 290 votes short of the 41,544 necessary for passage.

VINCENT A. OSTROM
University of Wyoming

Baltimore Alters Revenue Program

The new sources of revenue for the city of Baltimore for 1947, reported last month, have been slightly changed by subsequent action of the city council.

The state legislature, which met in special session December 27 to make appropriations to cover increased costs during the balance of the state's fiscal year, in anticipation of action expected to be taken by the regular session on the distribution of state revenues, made allocations to Baltimore City and the counties out of state income from racing. Consequently, the city council repealed its recent ordinance levying a tax on betting at Pimlico Racetrack.

The city council also exempted domestic services from its new 5 per cent tax on gas, electricity and telephone bills, and enacted a tax of 50 cents a gallon on alcoholic beverages (except wine and beer). The tax on cigarettes was amended to include cigars and smoking and chewing tobacco. The

¹City of Minneapolis, *Financial Problems*, 14 pages.

tax on pinball, music, etc., machines remains the same.

D. BENTON BISER, *Director*
Baltimore Commission on Govern-
mental Efficiency and Economy

Denver Seeks New Revenues

The efforts of the city administration of Denver to obtain additional revenues of \$2,500,000 for 1947, to meet an estimated budget of around \$11,500,000, brought forth a wide variety of proposals. The city was faced with the necessity of raising funds from other than property taxes, since property taxes for operating purposes are limited to fifteen mills for general city purposes and six mills for county purposes—although exceptions are permitted.

Among the revenue proposals considered were a 1 per cent city sales tax; a 1 per cent personal income tax based on payrolls, estimated to yield \$3,800,000; a 2 per cent tax on public utilities, estimated to yield \$444,000; motor vehicle licenses averaging \$5 estimated to yield \$310,000; a motor vehicle ownership tax and license, estimated to yield \$263,000; and a 10 per cent sewer service surcharge on water bills, estimated to yield \$310,000. The only actual increase thus far, however, has been the raising of the city cigarette tax from one cent to two cents per pack, estimated to yield an additional \$330,000.

Avoidance of further property taxation was one of the main reasons for favorable consideration of the city sales tax on first reading, but a massing of public opinion of business, labor and consumer interests was responsible for defeating the second reading of the ordinance. Five councilmen reversed their previous votes

primarily because of the wave of public opposition.

The city administration did not present a convincing case for needed additional revenues. Furthermore, transfers of the city's general surplus to special funds, the apparent lack of a trimmed budget, and charges of underestimated revenues from possible public utility franchise tax increases were criticized by the press.

The need for additional revenues to cover salary increases for firemen and police approved by the voters in 1946, to pay increases for other city employees, and meet higher costs for materials and equipment will probably result in an increase in the total property mill levy from 41.16 to 44.08 mills. The 1946 city and county property tax levies are to stand.¹ A separate ordinance is proposed to increase the school mill levy to cover increased school salaries with a slight reduction in the state mill levy. Even with such increased property tax levies, the city council must find a way to balance the 1947 budget to the extent of some \$800,000.

Denver's experience is indicative of the increasing economy-mindedness of taxpayers as well as a commentary on the city administration's failure to sell the public an expanded budget by adequate publicity.

ORBA F. TRAYLOR

University of Denver

¹Denver's city charter states 15 mills shall not be exceeded for "all general city and county purposes", but a Colorado Supreme Court decision of 1912 declared the 15-mill legal limit applicable only to city levies. Also, *special* city and county levies are without the legal limit. This anomaly for separately authorized city and county property levies exists despite the fact that the city and county of Denver are coterminous.

British Centralization Continues

Hospitals Pass to National Control

THE first of April 1948 bids fair to be marked on the calendar as zero hour for English local government, according to *Local Government Finance* (London). Then local authorities will suffer their first major operation—the removal of their hospitals to national control. The centenary year of the first Public Health Act will be celebrated by the dissolution of the interest of all local authorities in the maintenance of the public health: thereafter county and county borough councils alone, though without their hospitals, will function as local health authorities.

"Local government," says the Minister of Health, "must be restated from time to time in terms of the needs of the situation and in terms of new principles of administration."

It is clear that in the course of this "restatement of functions" there is no future for county district councils. Already these authorities have lost their education functions, except where they act as agents for the county authority. Soon the police powers of non-county boroughs will pass to the county councils. The fire brigades are coming back to the local authorities after their wartime service on a national basis, but the district councils will know them not.

These changes are in harmony with the trend over many years in shifting functions from minor to major local authorities and from major authorities to the central government, although local authorities are not accustomed to the speed at which these changes are being arranged. Both structure and

services are being reorganized at the same time.

A recent announcement by the Boundary Commission states that boundary proposals had been received from all but three of the county boroughs and from two-thirds of the county councils, as well as a number of proposals for the creation of new county boroughs.

This announcement heralds a grand contest between the major authorities for area, population and ratable value, and it may be that some decisions will be effective in 1948. But it is possible that before then the Boundary Commission's powers may be extended to enable it to make a wider survey and, perhaps, to effect greater mergers to provide local authorities at a regional level.

Two-tier Structure?

There was an echo of the Labor party's 1943 proposals on "The Future of Local Government" (which prescribed a universal two-tier structure of regional and area authorities, each elected democratically) in remarks made by Alderman C. W. Key, parliamentary secretary to the Ministry of Health. Convinced that a great widening and reallocation of local government areas is essential, Alderman Key advocates establishment of regional authorities, embracing both urban and rural areas. Subsequently Dr. W. A. Robson put forward the view that the creation of elected regional councils would be a practicable alternative to the transfer of functions from local authorities to central departments or special bodies.

During the next eighteen months municipal aerodromes required for regular air services are to be nationalized under the Civil Aviation Act; certain trunk roads are being transferred to the Ministry of Transport;

the bill to achieve the final breakup of the poor law by transferring to central government most of the public assistance functions may be expected shortly. Electricity, gas and transport undertakings are to be severed from local authority control. There is talk of a central highway lighting authority. Planning legislation on compensation and betterment may bring other changes. Many of these changes should be completed by 1948 and others well advanced. By that date also the housing problem should be well on the road to solution; a number of the new towns will be under actual construction; and the blitzed towns and cities will have begun to cover their scars.

Important changes in the sphere of finance may be expected. Revision of the block grant may be timed to take effect in April 1948 and that, in turn, should mean the preparation before that date of a new valuation list. It may be upon the solution of these two main financial problems that the survival of a strong measure of local independence depends. Several changes could be made in valuation law and procedure to the advantage of local government, notably the divorce of values from restricted rents, while the abolition of derating would make a useful contribution to the essential extension of the basis of local rating.

Durban Confronts Problem of Leadership and Coordination

To Americans the operation of the traditional English system of local government, with policy and administrative power centered in committees of the city council, represents something to avoid if an effective city government is to be established. The English themselves have had to adapt their system to changing conditions during this century the chief result of which has been the increased import-

ance of the town clerk, who in many instances has become a general administrative manager and policy coordinator.

Problems of leadership and coordination raised by such a system are illustrated by Durban, South Africa, whose council recently asked John McIntyre, town clerk, and Ernest Green, city treasurer, to make an investigation into the procedure and organization of the city.¹ These officials found much dissatisfaction with the existing system especially because of the large amount of time which council members are required to devote to municipal affairs and the slowness of procedure and accompanying delays in disposing of the council's business.

Several solutions are suggested by the investigators. The system of cooptation used in England and Wales, known as the aldermanic system, whereby elected council members appoint additional members to the council for their experience and knowledge, has been suggested for Durban. The town clerk and city treasurer, however, feel that there are inherent dangers in such a system and that citizens who do not have the time or money necessary to contest an election could adequately serve their city through advisory boards.

A second suggestion is that procedure might be improved if councillors were expected to perform fewer duties in their role as members of standing committees of the council. It is felt that the principle of delegation of powers could be used to a much greater extent while maintaining council supremacy over matters of fundamental policy. The council would

¹Durban, South Africa, City Council, *Proposed Simplification of Procedure*. Joint Report by Town Clerk and City Treasurer. September 1946, 109 pages.

retain considerable control through its control of the budget process.

The heads of departments generally could perform more functions directly. Matters subject to the by-laws which in themselves indicate council policy could quite safely be left to heads of departments as matters of routine administration instead of waiting for a decision of the council.

In March 1946 a continuing departmental commission, consisting of all heads of departments, was established to consider and report to council standing committees all matters connected with council activities in which more than one of the standing committees might be concerned. The town clerk serves as chairman of the committee. In the opinion of the report, the functions of the departmental committee could conveniently be broadened to include certain executive powers, thus making it not only a coordinating body but also an executive body, whose decisions on delegated matters would not be subject to review. It is suggested that each council committee could reduce its volume of work by delegating matters of a non-policy character to this administrative agency. The departmental committee would also function as a reporting and investigatory body, and would initiate policy and coordinate the work of departments and committees.

U. S. Forms Rejected

The traditional four forms of municipal government in the United States—the weak and strong mayor, commission, and council-manager plans—were examined by the committee but rejected as impractical or impossible for Durban.

Two other sweeping changes in the city's governmental structure and procedure were suggested. The executive

committee type of government as illustrated by Montreal was highly recommended. In that city the large municipal council appoints five of its members to constitute an executive committee with large powers and duties assigned to it by the charter. The reports of the executive committee on matters of fundamental policy must be approved by a majority of all members of the council or may be amended or rejected by a similar majority. The committee is instructed to utilize money either out of the budget or out of the proceeds of loans voted by the council without its further approval. Communication between the executive committee and the various departments is effected through directors of the departments who are full-time paid officials appointed by the council but whose duties are assigned to them by the executive committee. The committee has the right of supervision over all heads of departments with the exception of the town clerk, chief attorney, the comptroller and assessor. All heads of departments are appointed, suspended or dismissed by the council on report of the executive committee.

It was the opinion of the report that the appointment of an executive committee in Durban, subordinate to the council itself but with certain delegated powers giving it an executive authority in certain directions, would relieve the congestion in the Durban municipal machine and would prevent much of the delay which now occurs. The institution of the executive committee system would require the abolition of all standing committees and the council-administrative relationship therein contained.

A final possibility if committees must be retained is the splitting up of

(Continued on page 120)

Books in Review

Kentucky City Finances. By James W. Martin, Vera Briscoe, Glenn D. Morrow, Herman A. Ellis, Earl K. Turner and Freda Witherow. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press and Kentucky Municipal League, 1946. 275 pp.

This study prepared by the staff of the Bureau of Business Research, University of Kentucky, will be useful to all students of public finance and public administration. To Kentucky municipal officials, for whom it is primarily designed, it is indispensable. It should also prove invaluable to municipal officials in other states and to state finance officers in Kentucky and other jurisdictions.

The title and announced purpose (see Editorial Note) might lead one to believe that it is a "dry as dust" examination of law and statistics relative to Kentucky municipalities. Nothing could be further from the truth. Legal and statistical analyses are used freely, but no method of approach is overlooked; and all sources capable of throwing light on the subject are examined.

This volume contains a complete if relatively brief statement of the principles of municipal finance. Kentucky law, practice, and results are examined in the light of these principles and compared with other states. Budgeting, accounting, reporting, purchasing, depository control, debt administration, assessments, collections and auditing are thoroughly analyzed. Possible additional sources of revenue and means of making each dollar buy more in municipal services are examined. Policy, organization, personnel and management (including over-all city management) are emphasized.

State-municipal relations are thoroughly examined. Technical assistance

from the central authority and a post audit by it are favored. Joint efforts, as a rule, are preferred to grants-in-aid and shared taxes; but it is not quite clear whether in the main this preference is due to Kentucky constitutional provisions which make most grants-in-aid and shared taxes unconstitutional.

Numerous constitutional difficulties are noted and practical solutions suggested. But there seems to be a fatalistic acceptance of the constitution as unchangeable at a time when constitutional revision is a burning issue in Kentucky.

Technically and analytically this book has very few shortcomings. Where opinion on policy is expressed, it is in line with sound financial principles. Professor Martin and his associates have created a notable study which is well written and sustains the interest throughout. It deserves to be and will be widely read. It should find a preferred place on the shelf of all persons interested in state and local government.

J. E. REEVES

University of Kentucky

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Democracy

Reveille for Radicals. By Saul D. Alinsky. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1946. 228 pp. \$2.50.

Elections

Elective Offices of State and County Governments. By Robert H. Holley in consultation with Richard C. Spencer. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 36 pp.

Employment

City Employment in 1945. Prepared

under supervision of Lewis B. Sims. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 57 pp.

A Nationwide Employment Service Operated by the States. By Ralph E. Flanders, etc. Chicago, Council of State Governments, *State Government*, November 1946. 28 pp. 35 cents.

State Employment in 1945. Prepared under supervision of Lewis B. Sims. **State Employment in 1946.** Prepared under supervision of Allen D. Manvel. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 10 pp. each.

Federal Government

The Federal Field Service. An Analysis with Suggestions for Research. By Earl Latham, with assistance of William D. Carey, Arthur Svenson, Milton Mandell and Wallace Sayre. Prepared for the Committee on Public Administration and the Committee on Government of the Social Science Research Council. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1947. 70 pp. \$1.50.

United States Government Manual—1947 (first edition). By Bureau of the Budget, Government Information Service, Division of Public Inquiries. Washington, D. C., Superintendent of Documents, 1947. 718 pp. \$1.

Highways

Interstate Highways. A New Network of High-Type Free Roads for the Nation. Washington 6, D. C., American Automobile Association, 1946. 24 pp. Illus.

Housing

Housing Goals for Chicago. Chicago, Chicago Plan Commission, 1946. xx, 236 pp. Illus. \$1.50.

Recommendations for a Revised Housing Program for Veterans. Report of the Committee on Recommendations Appointed at the Housing Inventory and Forecast Conference, Chicago.

New York, National Committee on Housing, 1946. 6 pp.

Labor

Labor Relations and the Public. Edited by Herman Feldman. Philadelphia, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November 1946. viii, 198 pp. \$2.50 cloth, \$2 paper.

Planning

The Civic Center Plan. A Master Plan Report. Detroit, City Plan Commission, 1946. 24 pp. Illus.

Planning 1946. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting in New York City, May 6-8, 1946. Chicago, American Society of Planning Officials, 1946. viii, 199 pp. \$1.

Population

Internal Migration in the United States: April 1940 to February 1946. Migration of Families in the United States: April 1940 to February 1946. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 8 pp. and 10 pp. respectively.

Public Administration

Case Reports in Public Administration Nos. 101-120. With Cumulative Table of Contents Cases 1-120. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1946. Variouslly paged. \$1.60.

Taxation and Finance

Family Income—Milwaukee Metropolitan District 1939. By William L. Slayton. Milwaukee, City Planning Division, 1946. 23 pp.

Governmental Debt in the United States: 1946 (Preliminary). Prepared under supervision of Allen B. Manvel. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1946. 2 pp.

Handbook of Public Revenue Bonds. Part I, Toll Bridge and Highway Bonds. New York, Tripp & Co., Inc., 1946. 86 pp. \$7.50.

Municipal Debt Administration. Chicago, Municipal Finance Officers As-

sociation of the United States and Canada, *Municipal Finance*, November 1946. 24 pp. 50 cents.

Oklahoma Sales Tax—Including Operations of the Use and Music Box Tax. Statistical Report for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1945. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma Tax Commission, 1946. 31 pp.

Overhauling the Federal Tax Structure. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, September 1946. 12 pp. 25 cents.

Plan for Local Tax Burden Adjustment by State-collected Local Tax on Net Income of Corporations and Individuals (with Adequate Exemptions) to Meet the Unavoidable Increased Costs and Provide Some Relief from Excessive Burden of Tax on Real Estate. By C. Chase Zaleski. Cheektowaga, New York, 1946. 8 pp. (Apply author, Office of Supervisor, Cheektowaga, New York.)

Report of the Motor Vehicle License Division of the Oklahoma Tax Commission for the Calendar Years 1942-1943-1944. Oklahoma City, The Commission, 1946. 83 pp.

State Tax Legislation in 1946. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, October 1946. 20 pp. 25 cents.

Traffic Safety

America's Traffic Safety Champions. The National Traffic Safety Contest. Chicago, National Safety Council, 1946. 29 pp.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 108)

tation to all sections of political thought, not merely to study the convenience of the political candidates. No valid or logical argument was advanced to show that P. R. had not done all its advocates claimed for it.

The statistics in Table I, relating to elections in Tasmania since the passing of the act, provide convincing

evidence concerning the justice of the proportional representation principle.

Table II shows the total number of informal (invalid) votes with their percentage of the votes polled. Compulsory voting was introduced in Tasmania in 1928.

In Tasmania, since 1941, candidates have their names grouped by mutual consent, pursuant to prescribed notification to the returning officer at the time of nomination. It is of interest also to note that pre-selection ballots within a party to recommend an order of preference among the party's candidates have been abolished. Party men desirous of contesting an election receive the endorsement of their party, and the matter rests with electors as to who shall receive the No. 1 preference vote.

Proportional representation has operated in Tasmania for more than forty years, and has proved an unqualified success in giving accurate representation of the political opinion in each electoral district.

E. J. CRAIGIE

Adelaide, Australia

LOCAL AFFAIRS ABROAD

(Continued from page 117)

committees into subcommittees to facilitate the handling of work and to make it possible to carry on municipal affairs without undue delay.

The proposed executive committee system, which seemed to be strongly favored in the report, and the proposals relative to delegation of authority to heads of departments and departmental committees illustrate that, with the present scope of functions of municipal government, coordination and leadership both in policy and in administration are necessary and that legislative bodies can no longer supervise details.